00081727

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018

ATHENIAN LETTERS:

H. Brocas Sculp.

CLEANDER bribing CLEON; See Letter CXLVII.

ATHENIAN LETTERS:

OR, THE

EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE

OF

AN AGENT OF THE KING OF PERSIA,

Residing at ATHENS during the PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

CONTAINING

81727

THE HISTORY OF THE TIMES,

IN

DISPATCHES to the MINISTERS of STATE at the PERSIAN COURT,

BESIDES

LETTERS on various Subjects between HIM and his FRIENDS.

VOL. I.

DUBLIN:

JOHN ARCHER, No. 80, DAME-STREET.

1792.

00081727

THE

PREFACE.

AS the following collection of letters has been thought worthy the attention of the learned by ſome judicious perſons, to whom they were communicated, the Tranſlator humbly preſumes, they will prove an ac-

ceptable entertainment to the public; at the ſame time he will be bold to ſay, they want no introduction to recommend them. However, as the world will naturally enquire into the circumſtances, to which it is indebted for theſe valuable remains of antiquity, he thinks it neceſſary to premiſe a general account of the accident which brought them to his hands. This account he conceives will not only be grateful to the curioſity of the reader, but be attended with a further good conſequence to himſelf, as it will ſufficiently protect him from the cavils of cenſorious critics, and vindicate him from every unjuſt imputation.

It has long been a ſubject of complaint to modern literati, that the library at Fez in the king of Morocco's dominions, where the greateſt treaſures of oriental learning are ſuppoſed to lie, was never yet examined with

any tolerable care or diligence. The difficulty of acceſs to it is the reaſon why nothing certain can be known concerning it; but ſeveral have imagined, that were it thoroughly ſearched, the Arabian verſions of the Greek and Latin authors would in all probability ſee the light. A learned Jew, who dwelt in that city for many years, and who by ſome means or other had worked himſelf into the favour of the Alcaide, or chief magiſtrate of the place, ſpent much of his leiſure hours in peruſing the volumes that are lodged there. Upon his deceaſe in the year 1688, he left his papers to an Engliſh conſul at Tunis, from whom he had received obligations in his life-time. The conſul, upon turning them over, amongſt others, found a fair Spaniſh manuſcript intitled, "Letters from an agent of the king "of Perſia, reſiding at Athens during the "Peloponneſian war, to the miniſters of

" ſtate, &c. tranſlated by MOSES BEN " MESHOBAB, from a manuſcript in the " old Perſic language, preſerved in the li- " brary at Fez." Surprized at what he ſaw, he wrote immediately to two or three friends in England, and informed them of the important diſcovery. It appears that he had then an intention to publiſh them, but being afterwards called off by different purſuits, they lay neglected until his death. By the will of the gentleman, this manuſcript was left as a legacy to the Engliſh tranſlator, who thought it would be an act of the higheſt injuſtice, to withhold them any longer from the public view. He chuſes indeed to conceal his name, which he hopes the candid reader will forgive, ſince it is not done with a deſign of impoſing more ſafely upon the world, but in order to decline with honour the diſagreeable wranglings of controverſy.

The agent concerned in theſe letters appears to have been ſingularly fitted for his employment. As his mind was enlarged by a general converſation with men and books, his parts and knowledge furniſhed him with every qualification, required even by the moſt modern writers on the ſubject of foreign negotiations. A circumſtance the more extraordinary in CLEANDER, as he lived at a time, when the balance of power was unequally divided in the world, and the ſcience of embaſſy and treaty was not yet reduced into that regular and perfect ſyſtem, to which it has been carried by the wiſdom of later and more improved ages. For the ſimplicity of the ancients in all their conteſts with their neighbours led them into the ſtrange abſurdity of ſettling ambiguities, inſtead of leaving them; and it was the conſtant rule of their policy not to play with

the rights of nations, but to ſtate and to clear them.

During the reſidence of our agent in the city of Athens, he ſeems to have been extremely curious in examining the conſtitution of Greece; and while he writes to the miniſters on matters of political and public buſineſs, he does not fail to tranſmit faithful accounts to his friends of the learning prevailing in the country, and little private anecdotes relating to himſelf. Far from dealing in trivial and low occurrences, his letters are full of the moſt important information. We never find him preſſing for any increaſe of his remittances, but contented with his firſt appointments. It is agreeable enough to obſerve him upon ſome occaſions deviating from the dull road of his inſtructions, and acting with that freedom and latitude of judgment, which a wiſe man

ſhould be indulged in exerciſing, and with that air of authority and underſtanding, which naturally creates eſteem. He makes uſe of the acceſs, which he gained to the conſiderable men of Athens by a peculiar dexterity in his converſation, to the ſervice of his maſter, and the intereſt of Perſia; and though he now and then breaks out into ſtrong and rapturous expreſſions on liberty, he cannot lay aſide a zealous regard for the one, or a firm attachment to the other. In a word, he is a pattern of addreſs in negotiation; and I doubt not but if WICQUEFORT had been acquainted with his character, he had numbered CLEANDER among the moſt eminent maſters of that art, and recommended his letters in the ſame page with cardinal D'OSSAT's.*

* Vide Wicquefort's compleat Amb. Sect. 10. B 2.

Beſides theſe ſentiments, which evidently flow from a perſual of the papers now offered to the public, a ſecret pleaſure will ariſe in the breaſt of every man of taſte and knowledge, when he conſiders how much they tend to corroborate the teſtimony of THUCYDIDES, to heighten our idea of his impartiality, and to wipe off the unjuſt aſperſions, that have been thrown upon his memory by JOSEPHUS.* At the ſame time we may entertain a more adequate notion of the cuſtoms of the Greeks and Perſians from theſe letters of our agent's, in which the living manners are expreſſed, than we can poſſibly gather from the moſt formal and elaborate treatiſes of grave antiquaries. Not to mention ſeveral curious particulars of court ſubtilty and intrigue

* Vide Joſeph. con. Appion. where he endeavours to leſſen the credit of the Greek hiſtorians.

interwoven in the courſe of them, which may ſeem perhaps beneath the notice of an hiſtorian, but which yet have a wonderful effect in unravelling the ſecret ſprings and true cauſes of action.

As to the objections, which have been framed with peculiar ſucceſs, to the genuineneſs of the epiſtles of PHALARIS and THEMISTOCLES by a formidable champion in the republic of letters; ſuch objections as are drawn from the uncertain time, in which the great men who are ſpoken of in them are ſuppoſed to have flouriſhed, and from the matter of the epiſtles themſelves; we conceive, that no ſuch can lie againſt the collection before us. ATOSSA,* who was the firſt inventreſs of letter-writing in the opinion of our critic, had been ſeveral years

* Vide Bentley againſt Boyle, p. 535.

dead, before CLEANDER made his appearance on the theatre of human affairs; and after her death ſhe could no longer monopolize the uſe of it. It is therefore apprehended with an honeſt confidence, that we have little to fear either from the extenſive learning or penetration of that critic.*

To conclude, the Tranſlator begs leave to congratulate the literary world on the diſcovery of this hidden treaſure of antiquity, which may be conſidered as a large acceſſion to the wealth it already ſtands poſſeſſed of; and to congratulate himſelf on his own being the unworthy inſtrument, after an interval of ſo many ages, of preſenting theſe ineſtimable relics to the public.

C.

* Dr. Bentley was then alive.

PREFACE

TO

THE QUARTO EDITION.

IT is thought proper to preſerve the Preface to the octavo edition of theſe Letters*, which ſuppoſes the work to be genuine, and a tranſlation from an old Arabic Ver-

* Printed by James Bettenham in 1741.

ſion; but when a due interval of time has elapſed, the truth may be owned; the illuſion vaniſhes; it is a maſquerade which is cloſed; the fancy-dreſſes and the domino's are returned to their reſpective wardrobes; the company walk about again in their proper habits, and return to their ordinary occupations in life.

The Authors of theſe Letters were a Society of Friends, who were contemporaries at the Univerſity of Cambridge, about the years 1739 and 1740; all their names (except that of the writer of this preface) were an ornament to the place. The world was unfortunately deprived of the talents, virtues, and ſervices of one of them, when they were moſt wanted both by his own profeſſion, and by the public: not above two or three of the ſet are

now living; they lament the loſs of their colleagues, and cultivate the remembrance of their former friendly connection.

The Learned, into whoſe hands theſe Letters may fall, will beſt judge how correctly the manners of antiquity are kept up, and how truly the hiſtory of thoſe times is repreſented in them.

The Græcian part of the correſpondence is exactly ſtated from THUCYDIDES and PLUTARCH; the Perſian is extended and improved from the few remaining fragments of CTESIAS; but it is hoped, the *Coſtumé* of the Eaſt is preſerved throughout, and the events ſuch as might happen under a well-governed abſolute monarchy—the picture of which is more flattering than experience commonly juſtifies.

The general character of CLEANDER is taken from MAHMUT, the Turkiſh Spy; but it is finiſhed upon the Greek model; and the philoſophical and literary features of it are copied from the Schools of Athens, and the Groves of Academus. The forms and language of the negotiation part of the Letters may be thought too refined for the times when they are ſuppoſed to be written; the diſpatches of thoſe great miniſters, TEMPLE and D'ESTRADES, were the originals which the writers in that department have attempted to imitate.

HERODOTUS, PAUSANIAS, and STRABO, have furniſhed the Antiquities of Ægypt; HYDE's *Religio Vet. Perſarum* has been chiefly followed in the Letters which relate to that obſcure ſubject, and it is hoped with ſome ſucceſs; and ſo as to form an intereſting contraſt with the Greek worſhip and philoſophy.

Perhaps the character and travels of the young Perſian Satrap ORSAMES, might have been more varied and enlivened, and he might have been brought to Greece to ſerve a volunteer in their armies, and improve under the military inſtitutions of Athens and Sparta; but it is thought adviſeable, on the whole, to make no alterations from the original edition, particularly as the learned and ingenious writer of thoſe letters is deceaſed.

Not many years ago the younger CREBILLON, a name well known among the novel writers of France, publiſhed a work in four volumes under this very title of *Lettres Atheniennes*; they relate to the ſame times, and have ſome of the ſame characters with ours, as PERICLES, ASPASIA, CLEON, and ALCIBIADES; but the turn of that correſpondence is ſo different from

that of the preſent work, that no compariſon can be made between them; the readers will give the preference according to their reſpective taſtes and inclinations.—We hope our characters are antique. Thoſe of Mr. CREBILLON are in a great degree the *petit maitres* and *petites maitreſſes* of Paris; and the idea of improving the manners and morals of ſociety, does not ſeem to have been the principal object of that ingenious writer in thoſe letters, any more than in the *Sopha & l'Eſcumoire*.

H

EXTRACT

FROM THE

GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE FOR 1784.

VOL. 54, PAGE 276.

AS only 100 copies of theſe excellent Letters have been reprinted, and thoſe only for ſelect friends, we muſt deny ourſelves and our readers the pleaſure of making extracts, and reluctantly confine ourſelves to an account of their deſign and

authors.—This *Perſian Spy*, apparently formed on the model of the *Turkiſh*, ſo renowned in the laſt century, is in no reſpect inferior to his illuſtrious predeceſſor.—The work was firſt printed in 8vo. in 1741, being written in 1739, and 1740, when moſt of the writers were academicks at Cambridge, by the Hon. Philip Yorke (now Earl of Hardwicke), [P. 72]; the Hon. Charles Yorke [C. 46]; the Rev. John Lawry (afterwards prebendary of Rocheſter) [L. 21]; the Rev. Henry Heaton (afterwards prebendary of Ely) [H. 15]; Daniel Wray, Eſq. [W. 8;]. Rev. Dr. Rooke (maſter of Chriſt's College) [R. 5]; Miſs Talbot [T. 4]; Rev. John Green (afterwards biſhop of Lincoln) [G. 3]; Henry Coventry, Eſq. (author of Philemon and Hydaſpes) [O. 2.]; Rev. Dr. Salter [S. 1]; Rev. Dr. Birch [B. 1];

and Dr. Heberden [E. 1] ; of whom the firſt and the laſt only now ſurvive. Their initials, and the number of their letters (179 in all) are annexed to their names, and thence it will appear who were the two principal undertakers ;— a circumſtance which, added to the intrinſic and diſtinguiſhed merit of their epiſtles, muſt impreſs every reader with admiration of the taſte and talents of the two noble youths who could take the lead in ſuch a laudable deſign, in which moſt who followed them were their ſeniors, and and two of them their tutors *, and diſplay, at that early age, as much knowledge of the cuſtoms and manners, the literature and politics, of the times, as if they had been really the contemporaries of Pericles and Cleon, Socrates and Aſpaſia. What a leſſon, what a reproach, to thoſe

* Dr. Salter and Mr. Heaton.

who make their rank and fortune merely a ſnare both to themſelves and others! and who, even at the fountain-head of ſcience, know nothing *but as brute beaſts*, and ſtudy only vice and diſſipation!—Beſides theſe, Mr. Lawry's account of Ægypt, Biſhop Green's of Aſſyria, Dr. Heberden's of Hippocrates, and all of Miſs Talbot's letters, are equally intereſting and ingenious.—A principal ſcene, drawn by *Athenian* Stuart, is prefixed as a frontiſpiece.—May this fountain be no longer ſealed!

CONTENTS

OF THE

LETTERS.

1ſt year of the Peloponneſian war.

LETTER I.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS, chief ſcribe to ARTAXERXES king of Perſia.

HIS arrival at Athens, and admiſſion among ſt the μέτοικοι *or, ſtrangers reſiding there. The preparations for war. The ſurprize of Platæa by the Thebans. The ſentiments of the people concerning the cauſes of the rupture.* Page 1.

LETTER II.

CLEANDER to HIPPIAS his brother, a merchant at Epheſus.

A deſcription of the port Piræeus. Some reflections on trade and the Athenian greatneſs. Page 5.

LETTER III.

CLEANDER to ARTAPHERNES, governor of Sardis.

The war declared. A liſt of the land and naval forces of Athens. The Peloponneſian army in full march for Attica. The inhabitants of the country removed into the city. Reaſons for that meaſure, and the inconveniencies of it. Page 6.

LETTER IV.

CLEANDER to MEGABYZUS, one of the ſeven counſellors of ſtate to the king of Perſia, and general of his army.

The ſecret cauſes of the war explained at large, and the character and conduct of PERICLES *diſcuſſed.* Page 9.

LETTER V.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES firſt chamberlain to the king of Perſia.

The different manners of Greece and Aſia deſcribed. Page 12.

LETTER VI.

GOBRYAS to CLEANDER.

CLEANDER's *diligence and behaviour approved by the Perſian council. Remarks on the advantages like to accrue to Perſia by the Grecian diviſions. Ordered to join in diſtreſſing the meaſures of* PERICLES. Page 14.

LETTER VII.

HYDASPES to CLEANDER.

The marriage of ARASPES *and* ARAMINTA *at the court of Ecbatana. The character of* ORSAMES, *a young nobleman, who is juſt ſetting out upon his travels.* Page 16.

LETTER VIII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

Invaſion of Attica by the Peloponneſians. The Athenians by the advice of PERICLES *keep within their walls. The murmurs of the oppoſite party at this conduct. A fleet ſent out to ravage the enemies coaſts.* Page 20.

LETTER IX.

HIPPIAS to his brother CLEANDER.

Accounts of the hindrance to trade in the Perſian dominions, and of a journey to Ecbatana. Page 23.

LETTER X.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER.

Deſcription of Babylon. Intention to paſs through Arabia in his way to Ægypt. Page 25.

LETTER XI.

CLEANDER to OTANES.

A ſurvey of the city of Athens. Some of its magnificent ſtructures deſcribed. Page 29.

LETTER XII.

CLEANDER to MEGABYZUS.

The Athenian cuſtom of making a ſolemn funeral for thoſe, that died in battle. The ſolemnity deſcribed, and its uſe commended. Page 32.

LETTER XIII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

On the Athenian conſtitution. Page 37.

LETTER XIV.

GOBRYAS to CLEANDER.

He expreſſes the ſatisfaction he receives from his diſpatches. Sends him a mark of the king's bounty. Informs him of the reſolutions of the Perſian council with regard to Grecian affairs, and of an embaſſy from the Peloponneſian allies to the court of Perſia. Page 41.

LETTER XV.

HYDASPES to CLEANDER.

Account of a magnificent ſacrifice and entertainment at Suſa. Page 44.

2d year of the Peloponneſian war.

LETTER XVI.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

Obeys the king's orders in retiring to Salamis during the plague. Account of that fatal calamity, and the miſerable ſtate of Athens. Invaſion of the Peloponneſian army. Page 48

LETTER XVII.

SMERDIS the Mage to CLEANDER.

Tranquillity of his Bactrian ſolitude. Concern for the ſafety of CLEANDER. *Increaſe of luxury in Greece.* Page 53

LETTER XVIII.

CLEANDER to ORSAMES.

Compliments him upon his riſing character. Lays before him the general ſtate of Greece and Ægypt. Page 56

LETTER XIX.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

Deſcription of his retreat in Salamis. Characters of ſeveral of the Greek poets. Page 60

LETTER XX.

CLEANDER to SMERDIS.

Commiſerates the deplorable ſtate of Athens. Enquires into the origin of the evil principle ARIMANIUS, *and the reaſon of its being permitted to afflict mankind. The arrival of* HIPPOCRATES *the phyſician.* Page 67

LETTER XXI.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER.

Deſcribes his journey through Arabia Felix. Page 71

LETTER XXII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

Ill ſucceſs of PERICLES *at Epidaurus. The ſiege of Potidæa in Thrace by the Athenians. Anecdotes relating to the cauſes of the war. Plague continues. Honours beſtowed on* HIPPOCRATES. Page 76.

LETTER XXIII.

ARTAPHERNES to CLEANDER.

Gives him an account of his promotion to the government of Lydia. State of the province. Company at MEGABYZUS's *palace near Ecbatana. Court news.* Page 80.

LETTER XXIV.

MEGABYZUS to CLEANDER.

Lays before him a plan of politics for recovering the affairs of Perſia. Further information about the Peloponneſian embaſſy. Inſtructs him on that head. Aſſures him of the royal favour. Page 83.

LETTER XXV.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER.

His arrival at Thebes in Ægypt. The grandeur of that city deſcribed with the pillars of HERMES. Page 86.

LETTER XXVI.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

The Lacedæmonians refuſal to accept the Athenian propoſals for a peace diſcourages the people. PERICLES *endeavours to raiſe their ſpirits. They remove him from his command. But determine to continue the war. Send ſecret orders to the reſident in Thrace relating to the Peloponneſian ambaſſadors.* Page 91.

LETTER XXVII.

CLEANDER to ORSAMES.

State of philoſophy in Greece. Account of the Ionick ſect. Page 94.

LETTER XXVIII.

GOBRYAS to CLEANDER.

Reflections on PERICLES's *removal. Tells him that* SITALCES *has delivered up the Peloponneſian ambaſſadors, notwithſtanding the king of Perſia's inſtances in their favour. Wiſhes that* CLEANDER *could ſave them from the fury of the Athenians.* Page 98.

LETTER XXIX.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER.

Account of the Ægyptian hieroglyphics. Page 100.

LETTER XXX.

HYDASPES to CLEANDER.

The court removes to Babylon. Popular behaviour of ARTAXERXES. *Surprizing diſcovery of* ARTABAZUS's *daughter. Defeat of the Caduſians.* Page 102.

LETTER XXXI.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

Execution of the Peloponneſian embaſſadors by decree of the people. Pretences for that barbarous meaſure. Potidæa in Thrace ſurrendered to the Athenians Page 105.

LETTER XXXII.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER.

Further remarks on the hieroglyphics. Page 108.

LETTER XXXIII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

Returns to Athens upon the ceasing of the plague. PERICLES *restored. Introduced to that minister, and his conversation with him. Account of the peculiar manner of fitting out ships at Athens.* Page 110.

LETTER XXXIV.

CLEANDER to OTANES.

Further description of the city. Page 114

LETTER XXXV.

CLEANDER to MEGABYZUS.

Sends commentaries of some eminent statesmen among the Greeks. Their characters briefly touched upon. Anecdote relating to THEMISTOCLES. Page 118.

3d year of the Peloponnesian war.

LETTER XXXVI.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

Meſſages between the Athenians, Platæans, and Lacedæmonians. Platæa beſieged by the latter. Defeat of the former in Thrace. Page 121.

LETTER XXXVII.

SMERDIS to CLEANDER.

Endeavours to clear up his doubts concerning the evil principle. Relates the opinions of ſome eminent magi on that head. Page 124.

LETTER XXXVIII.

CLEANDER to ORSAMES.

Account of the Italic ſect and PYTHAGORAS *its founder.* Page 129.

LETTER XXXIX.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

Accounts for the obſcurity and uncertainty of the hiſtory of the firſt times of Greece. Page 134.

LETTER XL.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

PERICLES's *death. The circumſtances attending it. A fine ſaying of his.* Page 138.

LETTER XLI.

CLEANDER to MEGABYZUS.

A full view of PERICLES's *character and politics.* Page 141.

LETTER XLII.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER.

Deſcription of OSMANDUAS's *tomb at Thebes. Fine proſpect from* ISIS's *temple. Prepares to ſet out for Syene.* Page 147.

LETTER XLIII.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

Short account of the earlier Greek hiſtorians. Character of HERODOTUS. Page 154.

LETTER XLIV.

GOBRYAS to CLEANDER.

Reflects on the contents of ſome of his former letters. An agent arrived from Lacedæmon, whoſe conduct and inſtructions are diſapproved. Page 158.

LETTER XLV.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

Siege of Platæa continued. Unſucceſsful expedition of the Peloponneſians againſt Acarnania. Naval victory obtained by the Athenians under the command of PHORMIO. Page 161.

LETTER XLVI.

PHORMIO to the ſenate and people of Athens.

Particulars of the action. Preſſes for reinforcements. Page 164.

LETTER XLVII.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER.

Journey to Syene. Particular worſhip of a diſtrict in the Thebaid nome. Account of the Hermetic books. Cataracts of the Nile. Page 167.

LETTER XLVIII.

CLEANDER to SMERDIS.

Character of SOCRATES. Page 172.

LETTER XLIX.

CLEANDER to ORSAMES.

Converſation with THUCYDIDES *on the diſpoſition and temper of the Athenians. His character, and deſign for writing a hiſtory.* Page 175

LETTER L.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

Second engagement between PHORMIO *and the Corinthians. Delays in ſending him ſupplies. The party prevailing at Athens deſcribed. Character of* CLEON. Page 179.

LETTER LI.

HYDASPES to CLEANDER.

Remarks on the military diſcipline of Perſia. Deſcription of a camp in the plains of Babylon. Page 183.

LETTER LII.

CLEANDER to SMERDIS.

A converſation with SOCRATES *on the banks of the river Iliſſus.* Page 188.

LETTER LIII.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER.

His voyage down the Nile from Syene to Heliopolis. Deſcription of the country during the inundation. Ceremonies performed at the cutting of the banks. Phyſical reaſons aſſigned by the prieſts for the annual overflowing of the Nile. Page 193.

LETTER LIV.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

Attempt to ſurprize the Piræeus proves ineffectual. Blockade of Platæ. Diſcovery of a treaſonable correſpondence between SACAS *the eunuch and* PERICLES. Page 199.

LETTER LV.

CLEANDER to HIPPIAS.

Converſation with an Athenian on the effects of liberty to excite a national valour. Page 203.

LETTER LVI.

Converſation with the ſame on the law of oſtraciſm. Page 207.

4th year of the Peloponneſian war.

LETTER LVII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

Further account of the Athenian conſtitution. Of the Archons, Areopagus, and other courts of judicature. Page 211.

LETTER LVIII.

GOBRYAS to CLEANDER.

SACAS *ſeized. His examination and ſentence. Intereſt uſed to ſave him. Another agent from Sparta expected.* Page 217

LETTER LIX.

CLEANDER to SMERDIS.

Characters of the Grecian ſages compared with ZOROASTER. Page 220.

LETTER LX.

CLEANDER to MEGABYZUS.

Account of the military diſcipline of the Greeks. Page 229.

LETTER LXI.

SMERDIS to CLEANDER.

On the want of diſcipline in the ſchools of the Magi. Page 237.

LETTER LXII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

Revolt of Leſbos. CLEANDER *in danger of being diſcovered.* Page 241.

LETTER LXIII.

SMERDIS to CLEANDER.

On the abuſe of travelling. Page 246.

LETTER LXIV.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

Characters of his companions in his Olympic expedition. Page 250.

LETTER LXV.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER.

Orders of the Ægyptian priests. Their manner of life. Account of the Cabiri. Page 254.

LETTER LXVI.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

Journey from Athens to Megara. Page 261.

LETTER LXVII.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

Corinth described. Its most remarkable buildings. Page 265.

LETTER LXVIII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

Short history of Corinth, their naval strength and situation. Page 268.

LETTER LXIX.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

Deſcription of the temple of JUPITER, *and other curioſities of Olympia.* Page 271.

LETTER LXX.

HYDASPES to CLEANDER.

Execution of SACAS. *Some Median lords examined. Character of* NICANDER, *the new Spartan agent, and of* CRATIPPUS, *the Rhodian ſophiſt.* Page 277.

LETTER LXXI.

SMERDIS to CLEANDER.

The Grecian and Perſian philoſophy compared. Some miſtakes of the former in their accounts of the Perſian religion cenſured. Page 282.

LETTER LXXII.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

Celebration of the games. The different incidents and other particulars relating to them. Page 286.

LETTER LXXIII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

Audience given by the allies to the Mitylenian deputies; reſolutions thereupon. Page 294.

LETTER LXXIV.

GOBRYAS to CLEANDER.

Diſcoveries relating to the Median lords. Commiſſion given to CRATIPPUS. *Conference between himſelf and* NICANDER *the Spartan reſident.* Page 297.

LETTER LXXV.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER.

His ſentiments on the animal worſhip and mythology of the Ægyptians. Page 302.

LETTER LXXVI.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

Gives him an account of the proſecution commenced by CLEON *againſt* ARISTOPHANES *before the Areopagus: their ſeveral pleadings before that court: wiſhes, that the ſatirical ſpecies of wit were aboliſhed out of the world.* Page 307.

LETTER LXXVII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

Obliged on his return to ſerve on board the Athenian fleet. Eſcape of the Plateans. State of the ſiege of Mitylene. CLEON'S *corruption detected. Plan of a comedy of* ARISTOPHANES. Page 313.

LETTER LXXVIII.

CRATIPPUS to CLEANDER.

Some account of his family. Arrival and reception at Sparta. Death of ARCHIDAMUS. Page 318.

LETTER LXXIX.

CLEANDER to ORSAMES.

Converſation with CTESIPHON *the ſophiſt on the origin of fable.* Page 321.

LETTER LXXX.

CLEANDER to ORSAMES.

The ſame ſubject continued. Page 327

LETTER LXXXI.

CLEANDER to MEGABYZUS.

Gives an account, how he has laid out his money in pieces of painting and ſculpture. Page 332

5th year of the Peloponneſian war.

LETTER LXXXII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

Tumult in the city. Taking of Mitylene by the Athenians. Advices relating to the Peloponneſian fleet. His ſentiments on the negotiations of Sparta with the court of Perſia. Death and character of PHORMIO, *the Athenian admiral.* Page 338

LETTER LXXXIII.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

Repreſentation of the Acharnenſes of ARISTOPHANES. *Theatre deſcribed. Converſation with* PHILEMON *on the licentiouſneſs of the ſtage.* Page 343

LETTER LXXXIV.

HIPPIAS to CLEANDER.

Expoſes the falſe ſteps of XERXES's *expedition.* Page 351

LETTER LXXXV.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER.

View of Ægypt after the inundation. Proceſſion in honour of ISIS. *Memphis deſcribed. Abſtract of the Ægyptian Hiſtory.* Page 359

LETTER LXXXVI.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

Debate in the assembly at Athens on the punishment of the revolted Mitylenians. The first decree on that subject moderated by a second. Page 369

LETTER LXXXVII.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

Origin of tragedy and comedy. Character of ÆSCHYLUS. Page 376

LETTER LXXXVIII.

HYDASPES to CLEANDER.

Character of NEHEMIAH, *the Jew, and account of the Jewish nation.* Page 380

LETTER LXXXIX.

CLEANDER to MEGABYZUS.

Describes the pieces of painting and sculpture, which he has bought for him. Sends over TELEPHANES *the architect to take care of them.* Page 384

LETTER XC.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

On the corruptions introduced into the eloquence and management of the aſſemblies by party animoſity. Page 393

ATHENIAN LETTERS:

OR, THE

EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE

OF

AN AGENT OF THE KING OF PERSIA.

RESIDING AT ATHENS DURING THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

A. M. 3573. 2 *Olymp.* 87.
The firſt year of the Peloponneſian war.

LETTER I.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS, chief ſcribe to ARTAXERXES king of Perſia.

I THINK it my duty not to fail giving you an account of my ſafe arrival at Athens, by the firſt ſhip that ſails for Epheſus. My brother the merchant will take care to convey my letters ſafely to ARTAPHERNES, the governor of Sardis, who, I ſuppoſe, has received orders to ſend them immediately by expreſſes to court. As I am hardly ſettled

in this place, and have juſt gone through the formalities, which are requiſite for all ſtrangers to comply with, who intend to ſettle here, (as being admitted by the Areopagitic council, enter'd in a public regiſter, and chooſing a patron) I can only pretend to give ſuch accounts of the preſent ſtate of affairs, as are founded on the common reports of the city. The Perſian council muſt already have been informed, that all things have long carried the appearance of a war between Athens and Lacedæmon, upon pretence of injuries done by the former, to the allies of the latter. I ſhall lay before thee a ſhort view of the riſe of theſe differences, and the height to which they are now arrived. The Corcyreans being engag'd in a quarrel with the Corinthians about Epidamnus, a maritime town of Macedonia, and a colony of the firſt, and unable alone to make head againſt them, ſent a deputation to deſire an alliance with Athens. Their demand was ſtrongly oppoſed by the embaſſadors of Corinth; and the people in the firſt aſſembly determin'd againſt the Corcyreans, but chang'd their opinion in the ſecond by the advice of PERICLES, and voted that a league ſhould be concluded with them. In purſuance of it they ſent to their aſſiſtance ten gallies, with orders that they ſhould only protect the poſſeſſions of Corcyra, without attacking the Corinthians. Theſe gallies were ſoon after engag'd in a naval fight, where both ſides laid claim to the advantage; and at the ſame time Potidæa, a tributary city of the Athenians in Thrace, revolted againſt them, under pretence that they had impoſed hard conditions upon them. Corinth, its mother-city, ſent troops to its relief againſt the Athenian army, which laid ſiege to it; and at the ſame time diſpatched a ſolemn embaſſy to Lacedæmon in conjunction with their allies, complaining that the Athenians had broken the treaties, by aſſiſting the Corcyreans, and interdicting all commerce with the Megareans. The Lacedæmonians hurried on by the violent advices of STHENELAIDAS, the

Ephore, determin'd after a long debate, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of their king ARCHIDAMUS, that the Athenians had violated the leagues. In conſequence of this vote they demanded of them to raiſe the ſiege of Potidæa, and repeal the decree againſt Megara. This ſtate offer'd to put the difference in arbitration, but refuſed to give up their rights, without aſſerting them vigorouſly, if they were attacked. I think this ſummary neceſſary, noble ſcribe, not to inform thee, who haſt already received information of theſe events, but to give the better connection to the ſequel of my diſpatches. It is now generally agreed that an open rupture will ſhortly enſue; for advice arriv'd here laſt night from Platea, a town of Bœotia, and an ally of this ſtate, that the Thebans, who with the reſt of Peloponneſus ſide with Lacedæmon, had by treaſon gained admiſſion into the place, and kept poſſeſſion ſome little time; but the citizens taking the advantage of the night, fell upon and cut off the whole party, except 200, who were taken priſoners. The people this very day in an extraordinary aſſembly decreed, that a ſupply of troops and proviſions ſhould forthwith be ſent thither; and that meſſengers ſhould be diſpatched to all their allies, with the news of what has paſt, and orders to haſten their warlike preparations. A report is current, that the Spartans and their allies are aſſembling their forces at the Iſthmus of Corinth. I find the opinions of the people various about the true ſprings of this war. The party oppoſite to PERICLES ſcruple not to ſay, that no other reaſon can be given for it but his perſonal intereſt, which engages him to ſet Greece in a flame, that the Athenians may be leſs at leiſure to examine his conduct, particularly with regard to the public accounts, and be obliged through the neceſſity of affairs to commit themſelves to his management. Libels and ſatires are diſperſed againſt him with great boldneſs, and at theatrical repreſentations he

is reproached with the vileſt accuſations and the ſevereſt language to his face. All theſe inſults he bears with admirable temper. Indeed ſuch is the natural inconſtancy and impatience of the Athenians, that in caſe of any ſignal ill-ſucceſs, or inconvenience from the preſent meaſures, he will run the utmoſt hazard of loſing the power and influence he now enjoys. It is beſides alledged with good reaſon, that theſe diviſions in Greece will give great advantage to Perſia, which will never fail to encourage them by playing off one ſide againſt the other, till both are reduced ſo low, that our mighty monarch may take ample revenge for the battle of Salamis, and the inglorious peace with CIMON. The friends of Pericles are not leſs induſtrious in juſtifying him; but I own were I a Grecian, I ſhould exceedingly lament theſe unhappy quarrels, of which no one can poſſibly ſee the conſequences; or rather, if they continue, the event cannot but be detrimental to the common intereſt of Greece.

Thou art happy, illuſtrious miniſter, in depending, not upon the uncertain pleaſure of a mutinous and inconſtant people, but the will of a wiſe and beneficent prince, who meaſures the counſels of his ſervants, not by their ſucceſs, but their intrinſic goodneſs; and whoſe prudent conduct, inſpired by the great OROMASDES, is able to allay the rude clamours of faction, and ſuffers nothing to be heard through the wide empire of Perſia, but the ſtill ſmall voice of peace and unanimity.

From Athens. P.

LETTER II.

CLEANDER to HIPPIAS his brother, a merchant at Epheſus.

I have encloſed in your packet a letter to GOBRYAS, which you muſt tranſmit to the ſatrap ARTAPHERNES, and at the ſame time excuſe my not writing to him upon account of the hurry I am in at preſent, which will not permit me to think of any thing, but the neceſſary buſineſs of my employment, till I am a little ſettled. Our voyage from Epheſus was very proſperous, and my curioſity encreaſed the nearer I drew to a city, which is renowned through the world for the wiſdom of its laws, the many eminent perſons it hath produced, the magnificence of its buildings, and the ſtop it has ſo often put to the utmoſt efforts of the Perſian empire; ſo that it may properly enough be ſtiled the barrier of Greece. The entrance into the harbour Pirræeus ſtrikes one with aſtoniſhment; the vaſt number of ſhips, both for trade and war, which are continually lying there; the face of buſineſs which appears in the workmen at the dock; and the crowds of merchants, and naval officers, paſſing every moment between the haven and the city, form a very grand and a very pleaſing ſpectacle to a ſtranger. One can no longer wonder, that a ſtate, where ſuch a ſpirit of induſtry and freedom prevails, though under the diſadvantage of a craggy, unfruitful, and narrow territory, ſhou'd eclipſe monarchies of fifty times its extent, where the labour of the people waſtes its ſelf in cultivating the arts of luxury; and the higheſt ambition amongſt them is, who ſhall be the meaneſt ſlave to the ſovereign. I have made choice of your old ac-

quaintance and hoſt, PHILEMON, to be my patron; he ſeems to be a true republican, and a man of great honour and probity. His advice will be of uſe to me, with regard to my behaviour here; and his knowledge and experience will greatly aſſiſt me in my enquiries into the conſtitution and affairs of Athens. As this ſhip carries you letters from your correſpondents in this place, I ſhall add nothing of the news ſtirring here at preſent; and only recommend it to you, to take care of the ſpeedy conveyance of my diſpatches and remittances. In the midſt of that hurry of mercantile buſineſs, which renders you the greateſt merchant of the Perſian empire, and a more uſeful ſubject to your king than the wealthieſt and proudeſt ſatrap, beſtow ſome moments in thinking of your brother; who though placed in a hazardous and important ſituation, remote from his family and friends, will ever preſerve the tendereſt regards for your welfare and proſperity. Whilſt I watch over the motions of Greece, and like a ſentinel, foretel the approach of every danger to my country, do you perform a far greater ſervice to it, by exporting all thoſe coſtly vanities, and that oſtentatious magnificence, which have enervated the degenerate poſterity of CYRUS. Adieu.

From Athens. P.

LETTER III.

CLEANDER to ARTAPHERNES the governor of Sardis.

AS my family and myſelf have been always honoured with your protection, and as you firſt recommended me to the Perſian court for this employment; there is no one

who has a better right to be informed of the ſteps I take, and the intelligence I receive. You may acquaint GOBRYAS in your next letters, that war is at laſt declared between the two famous republics, Athens and Lacedæmon. This ſtate, by the inſtigation of PERICLES, refuſed to admit a herald, who was ſent by ARCHIDAMUS, king of Sparta, to offer the laſt terms upon which peace would be concluded. We expect every day to hear, that the army of the allies, which conſiſts of ſixty thouſand men, is in full march for the frontiers of Attica. A few days ago exact liſts of the land and naval forces of Athens were laid before an aſſembly of the people. The troops of various kinds deſigned for the land ſervice amount to 31,800 men; but their fleet, on which they principally depend, may be eaſily compleated to 300 galleys; with part of which they intend to guard their own coaſts, and ravage their enemies; and with the reſt to raiſe contributions from their allies for the ſervice of war.

The generality of people here were very eager in promoting ſuch meaſures, as had an immediate tendency to bring on a war; but they muſt ſoon begin to feel the inconveniencies of one. PERICLES has declared, that they will never carry it on with any proſpect of ſucceſs, unleſs they rely entirely on their fleet; ſince their land-army is not ſtrong enough to keep the field againſt the united force of Peloponneſus. He has farther told them, that they muſt abandon and lay waſte the country about Athens, in order to deprive the enemies of ſubſiſtence, during the time of their invaſion. In conſequence of his advice, the town is filling daily with vaſt numbers out of the country, who have deſtroyed their houſes, tranſported their cattle and goods into the neighbouring iſlands, and are come to ſeek a lodging in the houſes of their friends and relations. But the greateſt part of the multitude muſt take up their quarters in the empty places of the

city, and even in the temples. This removal, though complied with, is very inconvenient and diſagreeable to many families; who after having lived quietly in the country ever ſince the Perſian invaſion, and followed the innocent occupations of a rural life, are now obliged to leave their parternal ſeats and houſhold gods, and to exchange repoſe and peace, for arms, hurry, and fatigue. However, this meaſure, though it appears hard, is very neceſſary; for as there is no town in Attica, except Athens, big enough to receive the inhabitants of the country, they would, if they continued there, be expoſed to the diſmal alternative of falling by the ſword of the enemy; or ſeeing their poſſeſſions ruined before their faces, and themſelves made captives. PERICLES, like a wiſe ſtateſman, deſpiſes the murmurs of his oppoſers; and well underſtanding where the true ſtrength of his country lies, is haſtening the equipment of a large ſquadron, which I hear is intended to lay waſte Peloponneſus, and oblige the allies, either to keep their forces at home for the defence of their coaſts, or retire out of the Athenian territories upon the firſt news of their own being invaded. Solemn ſacrifices have been offered at the ſhrines of all their gods, and particularly at that of MINERVA, the patroneſs of Athens, for protection againſt the attempts of their enemies. But thou knoweſt, noble ſatrap, that the great OROMASDES vouchſafes not his aſſiſtance to thoſe, who make the moſt coſtly oblations, but to thoſe, who addreſs him with the pureſt intentions. If this war has been undertaken in ſupport of the honour and independence of Athens, what can be a more proper ſtep than to appeal to the juſtice of providence? But if it owes its riſe to motives of ambition, not of ſafety; of intereſt, not injuries; do not they deſerve the ſevereſt puniſhments, who call down the vengeance of their gods on others, whilſt themſelves are really the offenders? Ought

not thoſe miſeries, to which they devote their neighbours, to fall with double weight upon their own heads? Adieu.

P.

LETTER IV.

CLEANDER to MEGABYZUS, one of the ſeven counſellors of ſtate to the king of Perſia, and general of his army.

MY letters to the Perſian miniſters have given early and faithful accounts of the opening of the preſent war, and the ſteps, which both parties have yet taken. But I know thy penetrating eye is not contented with ſurveying the outward appearances of things; thy curioſity invites thee, and thy ſagacity enables thee, to ſearch into the moſt refined ſecrets of policy, to examine the conſtitutions of different ſtates, and from the natural diſpoſitions of the people, and the tempers of their rulers, to divine their future conduct. The reſult of theſe inquiries thou applieſt to the honour of thy maſter, and the ſervice of his people. I remember, when plenipotentiaries were ſent to conclude that inglorious peace with Athens, after the victories of CIMON, thou foretoldeſt that if we let the Greeks alone, they would deſtroy themſelves. Thy prophecy is at laſt fulfilled; the chief ſtates of Greece, headed by Athens and Lacedæmon, have begun a war, which, according to all appearances, will be long, bloody, and active. Ambition and reſentment inflame both parties alike: the Athenians contend for the preſervation of the authority they poſſeſs; the Lacedæmonians for the recovery of that, which they formerly enjoyed. The naval force of the one will for the preſent turn the ſcale of the war ge-

nerally in their favour; the indefatigable induſtry of the other may in a courſe of years incline it to themſelves. The luxury and licentiouſneſs, which begin to corrupt the ancient ſimplicity of Athens, may in time damp the efforts of her ambition; the patience and diſcipline of Lacedæmon will make amends for what they want in vivacity and addreſs. However fatal the effects of theſe civil diſcords may prove to Greece, Perſia has reaſon to rejoice at them; it will be her part to add perpetual fuel to the flame already broke out, with ſupplies of men and money to the weakeſt. By purſuing ſuch meaſures, the great king, from being contemned and ridiculed by every petty republic, will become courted and eſteemed by the greateſt. That reſpect, which in the times of THEMISTOCLES they would not have ſhewn to his ſacred perſon, they will now pay more obſequiouſly to the meaneſt of his ſatraps; and the Perſians, from being ſtiled barbarians, will be eſteemed by the party they aſſiſt as the the deliverers of Greece.

PERICLES, thou knoweſt, is the greateſt conductor of the war; but whether he promotes it through a regard for the intereſts of his country, or of himſelf, is uncertain. I have already mentioned the accuſations of his enemies, who attribute it wholly to motives of the latter ſort. I can only add, that I am informed, that before my arrival, impeachments were brought againſt ſeveral of his friends, as PHIDIAS, ASPASIA, and ANAXAGORAS; nor had he any reaſon to boaſt of ſucceſs in bringing them off. The ſtatuary was unjuſtly condemned; the lady's acquittal he procur'd by tears and earneſt ſupplications to her judges: and the philoſopher he was obliged to ſend out of the town. The oppoſite party, to harraſs him farther, procured a decree, that he ſhould produce exact accounts of the public money, which had been laid out by his direction. Theſe circumſtances being put together, I think it not improbable

that he has fallen in with the diſpoſitions for war, in order to diſpel thoſe clouds of enmity and malice, by finding his reſtleſs countrymen more important occupations. But he will never let them manage it as they pleaſe; and whilſt he continues in power, peace or war will be determined, not by the votes of a headſtrong multitude, but the calm reſolves of his own prudence and deep penetration. Such is the influence, which his great abilities, particularly his maſterly talent of ſpeaking, give him, over a people the moſt difficult of all others to be controuled or contradicted. Another part of his conduct, which contributes not a little to eſtabliſh his authority, is, that every body knows, though the whole revenues of Athens have paſſed many years through his hands, he has ſpent them all in rendring his native country the envy and admiration of ſtrangers, by the magnificence of its buildings, without improving in the leaſt his own paternal inheritance. Forgive, ſage MEGABYZUS, the length of this diſpatch, and attribute it to my deſire of obeying thy commands with exactneſs. Mayſt thou always continue a ſupport and ſafeguard to the throne of thy prince; mayſt thou no more experience the adverſities of fortune, and the fickleneſs of court favour; but long enjoy thoſe high offices and dignities without envy, to which thy paſt ſervices and merits ſo juſtly entitle thee. Adieu.

From Athens. P.

LETTER V.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES, firſt chamberlain to the King of Perſia.

IT has proved the moſt diſagreeable circumſtance of my employment, that I have not yet been able to write to my friends; who, I hope, do not imagine, that becauſe I have reſided a few months at Athens, I have quite forgotten the relation I bear to Perſia; or that becauſe I am engaged in the offices of a political life, I therefore intend to diſregard thoſe of the ſocial. To deal frankly with thee, though thou art a courtier, I thought it my duty to prefer buſineſs of a public nature, to amuſements of a private one; and to make my employment ſit eaſy upon me by a little practice, before I turned my thoughts another way. And beſides I was not inclined to ſend imperfect accounts of a nation, whilſt I was a ſtranger to it: ſuch a proceeding would have been diſingenuous and ridiculous. The firſt queſtion thou wouldſt probably have me reſolve, is, what peculiar difference I find in the manners of Greece and Perſia; ſince cuſtom has placed as many marks of diſtinction in the civil manners of every nation, as providence has diſplay'd in the natural bodies of each individual. I will tell thee then, a Perſian would find nothing more ſurpriſing, than the unbounded freedom of action and converſation which reigns here. The counſels of the great king are impenetrable; we diſcover nothing of them till they take effect; whilſt here every meaſure is known, long before it is put in execution, and canvaſſed with as much liberty in common converſation, as in the af-

ſemblies of the people. We approach our mighty monarch with poſtures of adoration, and addreſs him in language, which is uſed to the deity. At Athens the magiſtrates are diſtinguiſhed more by being virulently abuſed, than by any mark of authority. PERICLES himſelf is ſure to be the object aimed at by every one, who writes either ſcandalous libels to be diſperſed about the city, or performances deſigned for public repreſentation. The actors themſelves ſometimes appear upon the ſtage in maſks, which are made exactly to reſemble the face of the perſon ridiculed. The Perſian magnificence appears moſt at their entertainments; the Athenian at their ſolemn feſtivals. The Aſiatic feaſts are remarkable for the vaſt quantities of proviſions, the coſtlineſs of the preparations, and the ſumptuous furniture; the chief recommendation of a Greek one is, the elegance and variety of the table-talk, ſo that an Athenian ſaid prettily enough, our entertainments do not only pleaſe, when we give them, but the day after. The Aſiatic taſte and grandeur appear in the palaces of their princes and ſatraps; the Grecian in the temples of their gods, and the public buildings. Not a nobleman in Perſia but ſhews his rank by the richneſs of his dreſs, and the number of his attendants: whereas here you cannot diſtinguiſh a citizen from a ſlave, by his habit; and the wealthieſt Athenian, the moſt conſiderable perſon in the city, is not aſhamed to go to market himſelf. In Perſia the eyes of all are turned toward the ſovereign, and they regulate their conduct by his: in the free republics of Greece the people is king, and reſemble other monarchs in their bad qualities more than in their good ones; for they are fickle and imperious, ſevere and obſtinate. I have in this letter juſt ſketched the great out-lines, which mark the difference of manners between Greece and Aſia: I may perhaps give the picture a few more touches, if it appears thou art at all entertain'd by what I have already perform'd. I deſire thou

wouldſt not fail to ſend me the chit-chat of the court, and the news ſtirring in that centre of the empire. Conſider, to a man employed abroad, the moſt trifling occurrences, which turn his thoughts to his country and friends, are intereſting. I wiſh thee length of days in the poſt thou at preſent poſſeſſeſt, ſince thou haſt gain'd thy prince's ear without flattery, and canſt amuſe him, without liſt'ning for materials to the idle ſtories of ſlanderers and tale-bearers. Farewell.

From Athens. P.

LETTER VI.

GOBRYAS, chief ſcribe to ARTAXERXES king of Perſia, to CLEANDER at Athens.

THY diligence in ſending ſpeedy advices, and thy judgment in chooſing ſuch as are material and intereſting, have met with deſerved approbation at the Perſian court. Thy letters are ordered by the council to be depoſited in the archives of the empire; and the great ſovereign of the Eaſt himſelf has deigned to caſt a gracious eye on the labours of his ſervant, to expreſs the ſatisfaction they have given him; and to aſſure thee of his royal favour; an honour, CLEANDER, which I know will inſpire thee with induſtry, to undergo the difficulties of thy employment; with reſolution, to confront the dangers of it; and with zeal to ſerve a prince, whoſe benign influence (like that of the radiant Mithras) extends to all parts of his empire, and makes itſelf felt by the meaneſt ſlave who approaches it. The contents of thy diſpatches afford pleaſure to every Perſian. ARIMANIUS dooms the ſons of Greece to irreſiſtible perdition; he inflames their

minds with civil diſcord; and turns the weapons, which were ſharp'ned againſt us, into their own boſoms. O may this accurſed being, the origin of ill, ſatiated with the misfortunes that have befallen the kingdom of CYRUS, exert for the future his baneful power amongſt our enemies; and not only arm Greece againſt itſelf, but inſtil the venom of ſedition and diſcontent into each particular ſtate. I ſee by thy letters, that a conſiderable party in Athens are ingaged in a warm oppoſition to the meaſures of PERICLES; and no doubt the courſe of a long and expenſive war will afford them many opportunities to ruin his credit with the people. Thou canſt not perform a more important ſervice, than by encouraging any project to diſtreſs him; for I wiſh no worſe to Athens, than that he may experience the fortune of THEMISTOCLES, and find like him that eſteem and kindneſs amongſt ſtrangers, which his ungrateful countrymen refuſe him. However all inſtructions of this nature muſt be left to thy own diſcretion, as thou art upon the ſpot, and haſt better lights to conduct thy ſelf by, than any thou canſt receive from hence. Fail not to intermix thy hiſtorical diſpatches with accounts of the conſtitutions of the different governments of Greece, the diſpoſitions and cuſtoms of the people, and the characters of the ruling men. I foreſee, that the part we ſhall be obliged to take in their affairs will make ſuch informations abſolutely neceſſary; and bring us into a more familiar acquaintance with the nations, amongſt whom thou reſideſt. I dare ſay, thou always beareſt in mind the importance of the truſt repoſed in thee; and the ſubmiſſion and readineſs, with which it is thy duty to receive and execute the orders of the monarch of Aſia, whoſe power of rewarding his faithful ſervants is equalled by nothing, but the bounty which he diſplays in doing it.

From the court at Ecbatana. P.

LETTER VII.

HYDASPES to CLEANDER.

THY curious and diſcerning eye, which dwells not upon ſuperficial matters, or the common occurrences, but pries into the more hidden ſprings of political meaſures and ſecret reaſons of ſtate, enables thee to be eminently ſerviceable to the miniſters of our mighty empire: and thou faileſt not to entertain thy friends with novelties relating to the conſtitution of thoſe republics, which are eſtabliſhed upon a plan of government ſo different from ours. But the more eagerly thy epiſtles are here received on theſe accounts, the greater difficulty doſt thou put upon thy friends to find any thing worth ſending thee in return for them. As to what relates more particularly to thy inſtructions, it belongs only to the ſecretaries and great counſellors of our awful monarch to correſpond with thee; and any thing farther of the politics or intrigues of this court thou can'ſt not expect from them, who are but rarely admitted into the cabinet. But ſince, as thou ſayeſt, the moſt trivial concerns are in ſome ſort intereſting to one in thy circumſtances from a place, which he eſteems his home, I will write, if it be but upon trifles, that have nothing further to recommend them, than that they travel ſo far to thee, and are ſent from the court of Ecbatana. The plague, which had cauſed ſo great a mortality in Perſia, and long caſt a damp upon all the gaieties of our court, is now pretty well over in theſe parts. And though ſuch public calamities, while they laſt, or are juſt freſh upon the minds of men, tend naturally to occaſion ſerioufneſs, and give the moſt careleſs a ſhort interval of ſober thinking, yet

we too commonly find, that they are no ſooner removed, than the impreſſion from them begins to wear off, and thoſe, who had of late but narrowly eſcaped the danger, return only with a keener appetite to their former pleaſures. And thus I may ſay it happens at this time; never was the court of Perſia more ſplendid; never did extravagancies in dreſs and gallantry run higher. The faſhions indeed, which ſo univerſally prevail among us, we know, were of Median original, and had their riſe firſt in this place, before it became the metropolis of united kingdoms, and whilſt the Medes and Perſians were a ſeparate people. But though compared with the Perſian plainneſs in the reign of CYRUS, the Medes might then ſeem advanced to the firſt pitch of luxury; yet poſterity have ſo well improved upon them, that old ASTYAGES himſelf with his politeſt courtiers would now make an aukward appearance at Ecbatana. We have here lately ſolemnized the nuptials of the great ſatrap of Bactria ARASPES, with ARTAMINTA, the governor of SARDIS's daughter, who is eſteemed one of the firſt beauties of this court, and is a reigning favourite of the empreſs; and for the greater magnificence the ceremony was performed in the royal gardens. And as if the natural beauties of the place in this delightful ſeaſon had not been enough to have charmed every ſenſe to pleaſure, a pompous colonade, of a ſtupendous height, was erected in the middle of a ſpacious lawn. Through this the company was conducted to a ſtately pavilion, that aſcended by ſeveral ſteps, covered over with a canopy of the richeſt embroidery of gold and ſilver, and a thicket of bloſſoming greens ſurrounded it *, when the embowring ſhades alone would formerly have been thought upon any occaſion the

* Ἐν γε μὲν τῷ θέρει ἐκ ἀρκύσιν αὐτοῖς οὔθ' αἱ τῶν δένδρων, οὔθ' αἱ πέριξ σκιαι, ἀλλ' ἐν ταύταις ἑτέρας σκιας ἄνθρωποι μηχανώμενοι αὐτοῖς παρεῖχον.

Xenoph. de Inſt. Cyri. Lib. 8. ed. Franc. p. 241. C

moſt agreeable ſhelter from the noon-day heat. Upon a ſofa of ſtate, at the upper end, ſat the ſupreme monarch of the eaſt; and on another his conſort by him: a little lower the nuptial rites were celebrated, and the happy ARASPES joined his hands with the beauteous ARTAMINTA. The other moſt diſtinguiſhed ſatraps ſtood about the throne, and the reſt of the gaudy retinue attended at an humbler diſtance below. The company afterwards adjourned into another part of the gardens, where with equal ſplendor the nuptial feaſt was prepared. I ſhall not deſcribe to thee the luxurious dainties there ſerved up, no more than I ſhall attempt to ſet forth the ſumptuous finery of thoſe, who adorned the nuptials; nor canſt thou take any pleaſure in hearing, that the youth of Perſia, upon whom depend our hopes of maintaining the monarchy of the world, ſhould be * more exact in perfuming their hair, curling it in ringlets, and enlivening their complexion with artificial waſhes, than the ſofteſt even of the female ſex. Amongſt thoſe, who made the moſt gallant appearance, was the young ORSAMES, the ſon of ARTÆUS, preſident of the tribunal of juſtice, and a relation of ARTAMINTA'S. His dreſs indeed was extremely rich and ſuitable to the occaſion; but the unaffected graces of his perſon which owe nothing to the diſguiſe of art, made him appear with a manly eaſe in every motion, that, as it turns our eſteem upon him, makes the effeminate airs of the reſt appear more ridiculous. He ſeems by nature and inclination to be formed to virtue, and has acquired all thoſe noble accompliſhments, for which the Perſian education was famed of old: and with a laudable thirſt after knowledge and improvement, he deſires to acquaint himſelf with the arts, learning, and policies of other countries. He is therefore ſetting out upon the tour of Ægypt and Greece; and waited only for theſe nuptials to be over, before he went. To ſatisfy your

* Xenoph. de Inſt. Cyri. Lib. 8. Herod Lib. 9.

curioſity and his own, he deſires by me to be recommended to you, having a deſign to correſpond with you from diſtant parts, and will take pleaſure to be inſtructed by your letters in the manners and cuſtoms of Greece, before he arrives there. But I muſt not omit to inform you, how the grand ſolemnity ended: after the banquet was over, when the cool and pleaſant time of the evening came on, the artificial muſic, which had for a while given place to the ſweeter harmony of ten thouſand nightingales, that warble through thoſe groves, and whoſe notes upon this occaſion ſeemed inſpired with a more raviſhing melody, ſtruck up at once from all the various inſtruments of ſound in full concert. The company was then diſperſed through different walks, that all centered upon the pavilion, where the great monarch, his queen, and the happy couple with the other chief ſatraps ſat to enjoy the ſweets of the evening. When the twilight had now given place to the darker ſhades of night, all in an inſtant the gloom was diſperſed, and it ſeemed as if a whole firmament of ſtars had ſhot up among the trees, to renew at once their intermingled lights, and rival the blaze of day. The birds were awakened by the deceit, and began again their enchanting ſtrains more ſweetly, than when the early beams of MITHRAS are firſt diſplayed from behind the curtains of the eaſt. The nuptial hymn compoſed by the Mage THIAMIS was ſung by ſix comely youths, and as many blooming virgins clad in white, and the happy pair were conducted to the genial bed.

From Ecbatana. L.

LETTER VIII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS chief ſcribe to ARTAXERXES king of Perſia.

I received thy diſpatch with due reverence; I kiſſed the royal ſignet, and bowed my head in token of ſubmiſſion to the commands of the ſovereign of the eaſt, tranſmitted by his faithful miniſter. Thy commendations, illuſtrious ſcribe are of more value in my ſight, than all the treaſures of Aſia; and I look upon the gracious acceptance, which the mighty ARTAXERXES vouchſafes my ſervices, as a nobler reward, than if he beſtowed on me the moſt potent ſatrapy in the whole Perſian empire. Since my laſt letters, the war has been carried on with greater preparation than effect; and the blood yet ſpilt has rather ſerved to exaſperate both parties, than to cool the reſentments of either.

The army of the allies, commanded by ARCHIDAMUS king of Sparta, advanced to the frontiers of Attica, and laid ſiege to Oenoe; but being repulſed in their attacks they raiſed the ſiege, and advanced further into the country, till they came into an open town called Acharnæ not 60 furlongs from Athens, where they encamped. The Athenians, irritated at the boldneſs of the enemy, and ſenſibly afflicted to ſee their poſſeſſions ruined and waſted in their ſight, earneſtly deſired to ſally out of their walls, and come to an engagement; but PERICLES, withſtanding both their preſſing deſires, and the ſevere railleries of his enemies, who reproached him with cowardice and ſtupidity, perſevered in declining ſo hazardous a meaſure; and like a ſkilful pilot in a ſtorm,

relied on his own ſuperior knowledge and experience, without regarding the cries or menaces of the ignorant paſſengers. Indeed it is ſurprizing, that a ſingle man ſhould not only have authority enough to oppoſe the unanimous opinion of a head-ſtrong and mutinous people, in whoſe hands the ſupreme government is lodged; but even to hinder any aſſembly from being called, leſt in the preſent heat ſome raſh reſolution might be taken. However to keep up their ſpirits, and divert the ſtrengh of the enemy, he ſent out a ſquadron of a hundred gallies with troops on board, who made deſcents, and ravaged the ſea-coaſts of Peloponneſus and Laconia; which, obliged the allies, after having conſumed their proviſions, to decamp and return home. The Athenians, as ſoon as they were retired, ſet apart 1000 talents and 100 gallies for their defence againſt an invaſion by ſea; and made it capital for any one, who ſhould move to have them applied to any other uſe. Thou wilt have a compleat ſurvey of the theatre of the war, when I have told thee, that it extends as far as Thrace, where the Athenians are now beſieging Potidæa, which, at the inſtigations of the Corinthians (their founders) and the Lacedæmonians, revolted from them, along with Chalcis, and Botiæa, and were aſſiſted by PERDICCAS, king of Macedon. I juſt now learned, that he is reconciled to this ſtate by the mediation of SITALCES, a Thracian prince; and has engaged to join with PHORMIO, the Athenian general, againſt the Chalcideans.

As no action of importance has yet happened, I endeavour not to tire thy patience with tedious relations of every ſkirmiſh and trifling event. It will be more uſeful to let thee into the reaſons of PERICLES's conduct, which may appear to deſerve the name of timidity rather than of prudence; but he wiſely conſidered the extreme hazard of facing an enemy in the field, whoſe troops were ſuperior both in number and

goodneſs to the Athenian; that a defeat would abſolutely ruin their affairs, and a victory not balance, in its advantages, the peril that attended it; ſince Peloponneſus could eaſily have recruited the conquered army: whilſt the lives of his citizens would be thrown away, and their attention drawn off from their naval ſtrength to the land ſervice, though their ſafety depends entirely on cultivating the former.

The head of the party in oppoſition to him is CLEON, the ſon of a currier, a perſon of an aſſuming and violent temper; rather formed to diſturb, than ſerve his country; and with talents to make him a popular demagogue, but not a ſtateſman. PERICLES has no great reaſon to apprehend the weak attempts of a CLEON, when his power and influence over the Athenians has been ſufficient to baniſh CIMON and THUCYDIDES, men of real abilities and integrity; the name of the former can never be forgotten in Perſia as long as it continues an empire. I am grieved to hear, that Aſia, when it has ſcarce recovered the miſerable effects of war, is depopulated by a devouring peſtilence, whoſe ravages are equally fatal, but more extenſive, and whoſe contagion is alike dangerous to the cottage of the labourer and the palace of the prince. O may theſe puniſhments of the gods, which never come undeſerved, help us to throw off our luxurious and diſſolute manners, and reſume the maſculine virtues and ſimplicity of the old Perſians; ſince ſo extenſive an inheritance, as the empire they tranſmitted to us, can never be preſerved, but by the ſame arts that raiſed it. Excuſe my freedom, worthy miniſter, and remember it is the ſtrongeſt proof I can give thee of my fidelity. Adieu.

From Athens. P.

LETTER IX.

HIPPIAS the merchant to CLEANDER at Athens.

IF any thing, my deareſt brother, could add to the pleaſure of hearing that you were ſafely arrived at Athens, it was, that you ſeem ſo ſenſible of the advantages accruing to a nation from an extended commerce: and indeed the ſtriking impreſſion, which the bare view of a crouded port affords, is ocular demonſtration, and the moſt convincing kind of argument. I wiſh either your ſpeculative or my experimental knowledge may perſuade the Perſian miniſtry, that nothing tends ſo much as trade to the circulation of induſtry, wealth, and happineſs through a people; that it becomes a common tye to connect the diſtant parts of the moſt extended empire; and that, like veins in the natural body, it conveys life, warmth, and health, over the political. I found myſelf much inclined to fall into a train of reflections of this nature in a journey, partly of buſineſs, and partly of pleaſure, which I took lately to Ecbatana; and I will communicate to you the reſult of them. Three circumſtances, I am perſuaded, contribute to render the fine ſituation of Perſia for commerce almoſt uſeleſs: one is, that in all their great naval preparations againſt the Greeks, they have conſtantly furniſhed themſelves with ſhips and ſeamen from Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Cilicia, inſtead of encouraging their natural ſubjects to imitate the trading nations, who are tributary to them, on whom the marine of the empire at preſent entirely depends. Another obſtacle to trade ariſes from the late treaty with Athens, by one article of which it is agreed "that no Perſian veſſel ſhall enter

" the ſeas, which extend from the Pontus Euxinus to the " coaſts of Pamphylia; and that no Perſian troops ſhall come " within three days march of thoſe ſeas." A third circumſtance, which is the moſt ſurprizing of all, is, that they have contrived cataracts on the Tigris and Euphrates, to break the regular courſe of the ſtream, and make the navigation of thoſe rivers difficult. I mention this inſtance from my own obſervation, as it ſhews, not only their utter inattention to improve their natural advantages, but, what is much worſe, a ſtupid obſtinacy to oppoſe the means, which bountiful nature has ſupplied them with, to facilitate the carriage of their manufactures and inland commerce. They pretend, that theſe cataracts prevent the enterprizes of enemies, who might endeavour to invade them by coming up theſe great rivers: but I think this apprehenſion as vain, as the precaution is abſurd; for a naval force joined to the numerous land army, which they keep up, would eaſily defeat any ſuch attempts. Since my abode at Ecbatana I have frequently repreſented to the miniſters the advantages, which muſt ariſe to the empire from deſtroying them, and I hope not quite ineffectually. I aſſure you, I am much pleaſed to take this opportunity of falling into my old train of thought; for I have lately led the life of a courtier rather than a merchant, to which the pleaſures of the place have not a little invited me. The recommendations, with which the governor of Sardis honoured me, and the friends you have here, contribute more to my good reception, than any merit of my own. I dare ſay your curioſity will expect ſome account of the city where I am; I ſhall therefore endeavour to gratify it.

You need not be informed, that Ecbatana is the metropolis of Media, and was anciently the ſeat of the Median, as it is now of the Perſian monarchs. It is ſituated on a riſing ground, not far from mount Orontes, in a country called for its peculiar pleaſantneſs, " the garden of Perſia."

The city is contain'd within an encloſure of ſeven walls, gradually riſing one above another. The palace and the treaſury are built within the innermoſt circle of the ſeven, which is diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by the embelliſhment of a gold colouring. Ecbatana has the advantage of being ſurrounded by ſpacious plains, particularly thoſe of Nyſa, where the royal ſtuds of 50,000 horſes are kept. Theſe plains are bounded on one ſide by mount Orontes, on the other by a large foreſt, amidſt whoſe lofty trees ariſe the country ſeats of the Perſian nobility. I ſhould tire thee with deſcribing the ſolemnity of an audience of the great king; the magnificence, with which he entertains the princes of the blood and the great ſatraps, and the pomp of his attendance, when he appears abroad: beſides, I forget that you are no ſtranger to the ſplendor of the Aſian court. As ſoon as it removes to Suſa, its winter reſidence, I ſhall return to my old ſcene of life at Epheſus; I hope not corrupted by the pleaſures of the place, and I am ſure not infected with the leaſt tincture of a courtier's inſincerity, when I aſſure you of my warmeſt affections. Adieu.

From Ecbatana. P.

LETTER X.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER.

HYDASPES the chamberlain has informed thee of my intentions, to correſpond with thee upon my travels; thou will not therefore wonder at receiving a letter from this place. And truly though I am a ſtranger to thy perſon, yet the reputation thou beareſt here, not only for an approved capacity

in buſineſs of the greateſt weight and importance, but for a genius of the moſt refined caſt and extenſive compaſs, may well ſave me the trouble of any apology for thus beginning an epiſtolary intercourſe with thee. I have that eſteem for every man of diſtinguiſhed parts and an improved underſtanding, that I would find ſome way of recommending myſelf to ſuch a perſon, though he were in the moſt diſtant corners of the earth. * The city I am now at, which roſe upon the ruins of the ancient Nineveh, and was deſigned as much to eclipſe that famed ſeat of the old Aſſyrian empire, as the glory and power of its founder did that of Ninus, would have engaged me to have come hither by choice, had it not lain ſo direct in the tour of my travels, eſpecially at a time when the court being abſent, I can more leiſurely take a ſurvey of its admirable curioſities. But Babylon need not be particularly deſcribed to thee, who haſt been perſonally thyſelf in moſt of the noble metropolis's of this empire, among which the monarch of the world is pleaſed to divide his time. Never ſure was any city built upon a more regular and magnificent plan; never was any better contrived for the healthfulneſs of its populous inhabitants; ſo ſpacious are the ſtreets, ſo large the outlets for gardens and walks of pleaſure in the midſt of every ſquare of building; beſides which the houſes ſtand ſo far aſunder, that one cannot in this city complain of living more cloſely, or breathing a leſs purer air, than if one was placed in the midſt of the country; ſo truly does Babylon reconcile the two contrarieties of a town and a rural ſituation; and thoſe vaſt plains, which were left unbuilt by the Aſſyrian king, are, to ſpeak literally, a wide country with champaign, corn fields, and paſture, all encloſed within walls and fortreſſes. By the civility of ARTABAZUS the governor, I was ſhewn the vaſt extent of this city in the moſt convenient manner upon the

* Herod. Lib. 1. c. 106. ibid. c. 178.

walls, and for the greater eaſe we made a journey of two days in going round. Could human ſtrength have reſiſted the decrees of deſtiny, or of that over-ruling power, which governs the world, and had ordained for CYRUS the eſtabliſhment of a glorious empire, it might have been thought, that this place of all others was impregnable, defended with gates of braſs, and encompaſſed with theſe ſtupendous walls. But that, which the Aſſyrian thought would complete the glory of his mighty works, expoſed the city to be taken; and thoſe impaſſable moraſſes, which have overflooded the plains of Babylon, and ſpread over an unmeaſurable tract of land, ſince the mounds of the Pallacopas were blown up, upon CYRUS's turning the river into it, are a laſting monument of vain expence, deſigned to perpetuate his memory. 'Tis reported, that after NABUCHODROSOR had finiſhed theſe magnificent works, *he foreſaw, to mortify his pride, and foretold by a prophetic ſpirit, that Babylon would be taken; and the famous prophecy he uttered upon the occaſion was written by the prieſts of Belus, and found long ſince in the archives of their temple †. That famous ſtructure was much damaged by XERXES, and ſtript of the rich ſtatues of the Aſſyrian gods, and the ſacred utenſils; but the walls and towers are left ſtanding, though not yet repaired, as was intended. My curioſity led me up one fine afternoon to the top of it; and it was with infinite ſurprize and pleaſure I ſurveyed, in the aſcent, the ſcene, that preſented itſelf below. As far as the eye could reach, appeared the moſt regular diverſity of pomp and magnificence. Here a vaſt expanſe of palaces and ſtately buildings ſeemed to cover the whole plain beneath, and terminate the

* Abydenus ap. Euſeb. Præp. l. 9. c. 41.

† Arrian. Lib. 7. dicit hoc templum a Xerxe ſubverſum fuiſſe, ſed Herodotus Xerxi diu ſuperſtes, cum in templi hujus mentionem incidit, habet hæc verba, Διὸς Βήλου ἱερὸν καλκόπυλον, καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ τοῦτο ἔτι ἐὸν. Clio. c. 181.

wide horizon, except where the diſtant waters of the great moraſs were juſt diſcernible, by the reflection of the rays of the declining ſun. Below me lay the remains of the ancient palace, which takes up four miles in circumference; and facing it on the weſtern banks of the river that ſuperb new one, which exceeds all deſcription, and ſtands upon twice the compaſs of ground with the former. There roſe the gardens of AMYTIS, which ſeem to hang pendulous in air; nor does the ſtrength of thoſe arches (ſuch is the exquiſite contrivance of the work) appear as any ſupport to the terraſſes and foreſts of the largeſt trees, that are mounted above them. By the time we had reached to the utmoſt ſummit, the chearful glow of the ſetting ſun began to grow fainter in the weſtern clouds; but as the glorious proſpect vaniſh'd underneath, from the diſtance and the duſk of the evening, another more beautiful broke out above in thoſe myriads of twinkling lights, which diverſify the heavens, in the abſence of the radiant MITHRAS. We were then got up to the obſervatory, and found the ſages in aſtronomy beginning their curious contemplations. They very courteouſly marked out to me a ſcheme of the heavens in the heavens themſelves. 'Tis theirs to number the ſtars, and know them diſtinctly by their names; to obſerve, when they riſe and ſet; and to reduce their greateſt wanderings to fix'd and certain rules. Thus raiſed as it were betwixt earth and heaven, above the noiſe and tumult of human affairs, I fancied myſelf in the neighbourhood of the cœleſtial bodies, converſing with them, as they moved through the ſerene æther in their ſilent courſes. How noble and ſtupendous beyond all the maſter-pieces of art did nature then appear! how immenſe and aſtoniſhing! how boundleſs and infinite! The thoughts, that then ſwelled in my breaſt, are too big for utterance; I was dumb with rapture and amazement; I fell on my face and adored the everlaſting OROMASDES. When compared with theſe his works,

how mean are the moſt ſplendid glories of the Perſian empire! how little and contemptible! they flatten—they diminiſh—they ſhrink into nothing!

From Babylon, L.

LETTER XI.

CLEANDER to OTANES ſuperintendant of the royal palaces, &c.

AS ſoon as I am at leiſure to turn my thoughts to any other concerns, beſide thoſe of the great king, thine (as this may ſerve to convince thee) are the uppermoſt in my mind. I have, as thou gaveſt me in charge, applied myſelf of late to the ſurveying this renowned city, which is divided into two parts, the upper and lower. The upper, which is the more ancient, and was formerly the whole of it, is, in its preſent grandeur, almoſt entirely occupied by the public buildings, ſuch as the citadel, the temples of the gods, and the courts of judicature: the lower, which is guarded by a fort called Munychia, is laid out in an infinite number of ſtreets, and communicates with the two havens, the Piræus and Phalereus, by two walls of moſt amazing ſtrength and more than forty ſtadiums long; theſe and the citadel were built partly by CIMON, and partly by THEMISTOCLES. Some here ſcruple not to ſay, that the circumference of the whole is more than a day's journey, and even thoſe who are moſt moderate affirm it to be above five paraſangs; and doubtleſs, if one were to form a judgment of the ſtrength and power of the Athenians from the ſtate and magnificence of this metropolis, it would ſurpaſs all that has been reported of them. For to a Perſian it would ſeem incredible, that

the capital of a people, whoſe dominions exceed not in extent thoſe of many an inferior ſatrap in the ſhining court ſhould equal in dimenſions and grandeur the moſt ſumptuous of thoſe, where the lord of Aſia deigns to reſide. For the ornamental parts, it is chiefly indebted to the care and genius of PERICLES; who, with a ſoul graſping at and capable of executing all things, thought it not enough to aggrandize the ſtate, except he ſhould at the ſame time adorn it equally; not content to make it the moſt powerful, he reſolved alſo to make it the moſt beautiful city in Greece. By the encouragement and large rewards, which he offered, he drew together the moſt celebrated artiſts in each kind from all parts of the world: their numbers ſoon inſpired them with an emulation of excelling each other; and where all were excellent, it was to loſe reputation, to produce any thing that was not perfect in its kind. Hence it is, potent lord, that it exceeds all power of words to expreſs, or imagination to conceive the beauties, that are diſplay'd in ſome of their principal buildings: thoſe dedicated to the gods eſpecially might ſeem not unworthy of immortal natures; there is a grandeur as well as ſimplicity, which raviſhes one at the firſt ſight; they are all of them finiſhed upon the moſt exquiſite models; not blazing indeed with gold or precious ſtones, but poliſhed with a care and delicacy, that would give value to the meaneſt materials, and ſurpaſſes the brighteſt glow and moſt diverſified irradiations of colour. That temple in particular, which is called the PARTHENON and dedicated to MINERVA, the guardian and protectreſs of ATHENS, as it is the largeſt, ſo is it the moſt compleat; its length is 150 cubits, and the breadth about 65: the outſide adorned with a beautiful colonade, which ſerves to ſupport the bold projections of a moſt curious entablature. On entering and ſurveying the inſide, I found myſelf delighted and ſurprized without knowing the particular cauſe; till on further conſideration I perceived, that this

was owing to the exact ſymmetry and happy adjuſtments of each other part. I was convinced, that the proportions obſerved in this were the trueſt and moſt natural that can be; and will, if I foreſee aright, be a pattern for imitation to all ſucceeding times. There is, there muſt be ſomething fixed and rational in this, as well as all other objects of the mind. Why elſe do the ſtupendous works of Babylon, and the ſo celebrated temple of DIANA, which my native Epheſus boaſts, though they amaze and awe, yet fail of pleaſing us! And whence is it, that, though none but the moſt conſummate artiſt is capable of deſigning what is truly great and majeſtic, yet all admire and approve what is ſo, when finiſhed? Happy PERICLES, whoſe name ſhall live, not in theſe auguſt buildings only, but in all, which deſerve the admiration of mankind to the lateſt poſterity! It was from a ſenſe of this, that he ſilenced the clamours of his enemies, and put a ſtop to the complaints of his fellow-citizens, in relation to the great charge of theſe edifices. He offered to pay the expence of all that was done, on condition that he might have the reputation of deſigning and raiſing ſo many illuſtrious monuments. Beſides this, the moſt remarkable temples are thoſe dedicated to NEPTUNE, CASTOR and POLLUX, and THESEUS; nor can it fail to give every Perſian the ſame pleaſure it did me, when he ſhall know, that another of their moſt ſtately buildings, the Odeum or muſic theatre, is built after the model of that pavilion, which ſhades the ſacred head of the moſt powerful monarch in the univerſe. It would be endleſs to recount the other buildings, which riſe on all ſides around me; nor will I attempt at preſent to deſcribe the fine paintings, or enumerate the beautiful ſtatues, which people, as it were, every corner of the city. Theſe are all done under the direction and moſt by the hand of PHIDIAS, an artiſt ſo extraordinary, as to be worthy the encouragement of our great monarch, and who, when ſupported by his munificence, might exceed all

that the world has ever ſeen in that way; aud yet this ſo excellent a maſter has lately, out of ſpite to PERICLES his patron, been caſt into priſon, and is ſuffered to languiſh there in daily expectation of death. Such is the reward of all his labours from an ungrateful city! Thou art happy, OTANES, in ſerving a maſter, who will not value thee leſs, becauſe thou deſerveſt to be valued more. Be it thy ambition to render thoſe ſplendid apartments, committed to thy care, worthy of their royal gueſt; and if the Athenians ſcruple not to imitate the Aſiatic barbarians (as they inſolently call us) in one of their buildings, nor do thou diſdain to tranſcribe other excellencies from them. Bluſh not to copy after maſters, whoſe natural bent and genius lie towards theſe arts; who deſpiſing all uſeleſs oſtentation, and laughing at the cumbrous uninformed buildings of the Eaſt, have firſt ſhewed the world, "that convenience is not incompatible with ſtate, nor true magnificence deſtitute of real uſe." Adieu!

From Athens. R.

LETTER XII.

CLEANDER to MEGABYZUS, one of the ſeven counſellors of ſtate to the king of Perſia.

IT was no inconſiderable part of the wiſe inſtructions, which thou gaveſt me, before my voyage to this city, that I ſhould write thee a particular account of every remakable cuſtom, as well as extraordinary incident, that occurred during my abode here. I know how much thou grieveſt in ſecret for the degeneracy of Perſia; and thy deſign in requiring this intelligence, with a view to the improvement of

our own country by remarks on the manners of others, is agreeable to the wiſdom of thy miniſtry, and the greatneſs of thy ſoul. A deſign truly glorious, and praiſe worthy! in compariſon whereof, the hiſtory of the vaſt armies and ravages of XERXES may be conſidered as the chaff before the wind, and which will perpetuate the name of MEGABYZUS to the lateſt poſterity.

The Athenians have a law amongſt them, which enjoins, that all thoſe, who die fighting in the cauſe of their country, ſhall at the end of every campaign be buried at the public charge, and their children maintained by the ſtate till they arrive at the age of manhood. The firſt year of the war is now over, and the winter ſeaſon is advanced upon us. Accordingly, the ceremonies thus inſtituted were performed a few days ſince; and I had the pleaſure of ſeeing every part of them. To tell thee my opinion freely, I never was ſo much delighted with the pomp and ſplendor of the court of Suſa, as with the honeſt plainneſs of theſe republican ſolemnities. The whole was conducted after this manner.

About three days before the funeral, the bones of the ſlain were placed in a tent raiſed on purpoſe, ſo that every perſon might have an opportunity to frequent them, and pay them the laſt tribute of a tear. All ſorts of odoriferous herbs and flowers were ſtrewed around the tent; and each man brought ſome in his hand, that he might conſecrate them to the names of his favourite friend. On the fourth day a coffin of cypreſs was ſent from every tribe, to carry off the bones of their own members. After which went an empty covered hearſe in memory of thoſe, who could not be found. The proceſſion was carried on with a peculiar decency of ſorrow, while great numbers of inhabitants, both ſtrangers and citizens, aſſiſted in the train of mourners. The parents of the

deceaſed attended at the ſepulchre to weep. No eye could refrain from tears; and the melancholy diſtreſs, which appeared in the faces of all alike, ſeemed but a true copy of the ſentiments of all. The bones were accompanied in this manner to the public place of burial (which is ſituated in a pleaſant ſpot without the city, called CERAMICUS) and committed to the ground. The monument erected to the valour of theſe citizens was adorned with pillars, trophies, and inſcriptions, ſuch as are uſual about the tombs of the moſt honourable perſons. The ceremony was concluded with one ſpeech in praiſe of them all, and PERICLES was the orator, to whom that taſk was aſſigned. It is impoſſible for any man, who has not heard him, to conceive the ſtrength and ſolidity of his thoughts, the grace and dignity of his action, the elegance and ſimplicity of his diction. For my own part, I was enchanted with the power of his eloquence. His countrymen ſay of him very juſtly, that he harangues in an imperial ſtrain. Hence they have given him the ſirname of OLYMPIUS, intimating probably, that, like their god JUPITER, he thunders when he ſpeaks. To this I may add, that the melody of his voice, the air of his countenance, the very manner of his dreſs has ſomething of an engaging and commanding gravity, which at once charms and aſtoniſhes his audience.

The main ſcope of his ſpeech, was to animate the living with reſolution, by commending the courage of the dead; to infuſe a ſpirit of patriotiſm into the minds of his fellow-citizens, by celebrating that principle of action, which incites the valiant to battle. He told them, that ſuch men, though they failed in their attempt, were not wanting in glory to themſelves or their country; that they would for ever receive, inſtead of their lives, an immortal monument of praiſe, (not ſo much that, wherein their bodies are now laid, as a more illuſtrious one in the memory of future ages).

For to men of fame, all the earth is a ſepulchre, and reſpect ſhall be paid to their virtue, not only by inſcriptions and trophies at home; but by unwritten records of the heart in all nations of the world, which, more than any kind of periſhable monument, will remain to eternity. In imitation therefore of theſe men, continued he, and placing happineſs in liberty, and liberty in valour, be forward to encounter the dangers of war. He ſet before them the reputation of dying with their ſwords in their hands, for a commonwealth ſo renowned and ſo noble, as that of Athens. In diſplaying the extent and greatneſs of it's dominion, he took occaſion to flatter the people, in aſcribing it chiefly to the prudence of their conduct, the ſtrictneſs of their diſcipline, and the bravery of their arms. He extolled the freedom and independency of their conſtitution; that they were all governed by the law, whoſe protection was equally extended to the poor and the rich, to the weak as well as powerful; that the merit and induſtry of every citizen, made his way to preferment, without any perſonal diſtinction whatſoever; in ſhort, that where the rewards of virtue are the greateſt, there live the greateſt men. He cloſed his ſpeech with a particular addreſs to the different ages and ſexes of thoſe who heard him, and diſmiſs'd the multitude.

As ſoon as PERICLES had deſcended from the roſtra, the people followed him to his houſe with loud acclamations of joy; and the ſenſe of every man's ſorrow for the loſs of his relations was changed into the higheſt encomiums on their happineſs and fame. The merits of the deceas'd were drawn in the moſt lively colours by the partial imaginations of friends. Even thoſe, who had been their competitors in the poſts of glory, and had envied their reputation, while living, now honour them with affection, when dead. Each man ſeems ſtudious of ſerving the widows and orphans of

thoſe he loved; and the ſtate of Athens, with the tenderneſs of a kind parent, is expreſſing thoſe ſentiments of gratitude to the offspring of her brave defenders, which ſhe cannot expreſs to themſelves; a cuſtom ſo juſt and laudable, ſo conſiſtent with the wiſeſt maxims of good policy, that it muſt be left to thy judgment to determine, if the conſtitution of Perſia is not in ſome degree defective for the want of it. Pardon the vehemence of the expreſſion; but this I will venture to affirm, that nothing can tend, in a ſtronger manner, to animate the ſoft and degenerate troops of Aſia to emulate the valour of their generous anceſtors, than rewards and encouragements of the ſame nature, propos'd to military virtue. Herein then let us imitate the republic of Athens, and be in no wiſe aſhamed to learn uſeful improvements from the warmeſt of our foes. I would aſk only one queſtion; can any man, who ſhall chance to fall a victim to his enemies in the heat of battle, and conſiders in his laſt and departing moments, that his obſequies ſhall be honourably performed at the charge of his fellow-citizens, that his friends ſhall pay reſpect to his memory by their praiſe, that his children ſhall be educated by the care and prudence of the public; can ſuch a man heſitate one moment, whether he hath done rightly in forfeiting his life, however precious, to the fame of his own character, to the ſervice of his own children, to the general and laſting benefit of his country?

This is a cuſtom, O thou ſage MEGABYZUS, which if ever it be practiſed among us, will eſtabliſh the throne of our mighty maſter, not on the frail and unſtable foundations of pomp and luxury, of force and power, of diſſimulation and craft; but on the popularity of the prince, and the induſtry and affection of his ſubjects; foundations of the regal authority ſo great, and ſo noble, that the king, who would add weight to his ſcepter, muſt reign by them, or govern

againſt the happineſs of his people, againſt the very rule, the very end of his government. Adieu.

From Athens. C.

LETTER XIII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS, chief ſcribe to ARTAXERXES king of Perſia.

I forgot not, ſage miniſter, the directions thou gaveſt me, to ſend accounts of the conſtitutions of the different governments in Greece; and now the ſeaſon of action is over, I find more leiſure to proſecute ſuch uſeful enquiries. I intend in this letter to lay before thee a deſcription of the conſtitution of Athens, reducing it to a compaſs conſiſtent, I hope, with accuracy, as well as entertainment.

SOLON, their great legiſlator, formed their government chiefly on a popular plan; though from ſeveral inſtitutions of his it appears, that he deſigned to moderate the inconſtancy and violence of a democracy, by introducing a proper mixture of the ariſtocratical form. The firſt appointed, that none but thoſe, who had ſuch a revenue, ſhould be candidates for the great magiſtracies of the ſtate. The people indeed, ſince the Perſian invaſion, have had influence enough to increaſe their power, by getting rid of this incumbrance upon the ambition of the poorer ſort. The ſecond was the eſtabliſhment of a ſenate, choſen annually out of each of the tribes. SOLON, as a third reſtraint upon the people, a third anchor to prevent the republic's being carried away by the intrigues of factious rulers, or the irreſolution of weak ones, enlarged the authority of the

Areopagus, their great court of judicature. He likewiſe very much diminiſhed the power of the nine Archons, who have each ſeparate juriſdictions; as the firſt, for inſtance, gives a name to the year, determines in cauſes concerning wills and legacies, and inſpects the theatrical diverſions.

After this general ſketch of the Athenian conſtitution, I ſhall proceed to enter more particularly into the grand reſorts and ſprings, on which the movements of their political ſyſtem depend. The ſenate of 500 is compoſed of 50 out of every one of the ten tribes. No one can be admitted into it, without being at leaſt 30 years of age, and undergoing a ſtrict enquiry into his character. Before he takes his ſeat he binds himſelf by a ſolemn oath to adhere to the laws, and give advice to the people of Athens, according to the beſt of his abilities. Every tribe preſides in the ſenate in its turn, (which is regulated by lot) for 35 days. Each company of preſidents are called Prytanes, and out of them the Proedroi or ſet of preſidents for the week, are appointed. The preſident of the day called the Epiſtata, is one of the Proedroi, and has in his cuſtody the great ſeal, and the keys of the citadel and treaſure, and preſides likewiſe in the aſſemblies of the people. When the ſenate has made a decree, if it is ratified by the people, it paſſes into a law; if otherwiſe, it continues in force only for a year. The matters, which come under the cognizance of the ſenate, are of the ſame ſort as thoſe, which are brought before the people; and therefore may be referred to that head. At the expiration of the annual offices of the ſenators, if any ſhips of war have been built during their regency, the people decree them the honour of the crown; a remarkable inſtance of their great attention to increaſe their naval force, as being fully convinced, that the ſafety and honour of the commonwealth depend upon it! The ordinary aſſemblies of the people are held four times in 35

days, particular affairs being allotted to each time; extraordinary ones are ſummoned by the magiſtrates; and a paper is fixed up in the public places of the city, with a ſhort account of the buſineſs to be debated.

The place, where the aſſembly is held, which is either the market place, or a great ſquare near the citadel, is firſt purified by a ſolemn rite of luſtration. When that is ended, the public crier makes a prayer for the proſperity of their counſels; and pronounces an execration againſt thoſe, who endeavour, or adviſe any thing to the prejudice of the commonwealth. Then, by order of the preſident, he ſtates the queſtion; or repeats the decree of the ſenate, which is to be confirmed or rejected. The oldeſt orators begin the debate, and are followed by the younger; though it is to be obſerved, that no perſon under thirty has a right to be heard; nor is any one, who has been convicted of a notorious crime, permitted to have a ſhare in their councils. Without the firſt of theſe precautions, they think the ſtate might be expoſed to danger by an immature advice; without the latter, by a deſperate or unlawful one. When the debates are over, the people give their votes, which is uſually done by holding up their hands: Then the opinion is drawn up in writing, and they confirm it by a ſecond diviſion. After the preſident has examined the numbers on both ſides, he pronounces on which the majority lies, and diſmiſſes the aſſembly. It is in theſe aſſemblies of the people, that all affairs relating to war and peace, religion or domeſtic policy, are diſcuſſed. Appeals lie to them from all tribunals, even from that of the Areopagus; of which venerable judicature I ſhall next give thee a ſhort account. Their inſtitution is by ſome attributed to SOLON, but generally to CECROPS the founder of the city. It is chiefly compoſed of the Archons, who have diſcharged their offices with honour; and it's number therefore is not always the ſame. They hold their ſittings on Mar's-hill, in the open air; and when

they determine cauſes, it is in the night. The members of this body have been always held in the higheſt eſteem for the ſanctity of their lives, the impartiality of their deciſions, and their knowledge in their laws of their country. Their authority is of a large extent; they inſpect over the obſervation of the laws, the manners of the citizens, and the education of the youth. They have alſo cognizance of caſes of murder, and all ſorts of impieties; and the introduction of new ceremonies fall within their juriſdiction. PERICLES indeed, with a view of making his court to the people, by throwing more power into their hands, and weakening that of the nobles, has reduced the power of the Areopagus: but ſober men look upon it as one of the worſt ſteps in his adminiſtration; and it affords his enemies a fair topic for invidious remarks. I hope the view I have here given thee, noble ſcribe, of the nature of the Athenian conſtitution, and their manner of carrying on public buſineſs, will not be diſagreeable to thee, or afford unprofitable reflections to the council of Perſia; thy favourable acceptance of this eſſay will encourage me to tranſmit more papers of the ſame kind. I leave it to thy experienced ſagacity, to compare the republican government of Athens with the monarchical one of thy native country; to diſcover the excellencies of each; to trace out their reſpective imperfections; and to determine, whether a conſtitution, blended of both, might not compoſe the moſt perfect form, that human invention can ever expect to attain. But I know, how difficult it would prove to hit that juſt medium; and how hard it is to prevent the ſpirit of faction from mixing with that of reformation. Pardon my preſumption, and ſuffer me to wiſh a long continuance to thy miniſtry; it is the ſame thing as wiſhing an increaſe of honour and proſperity to Perſia. Adieu.

From Athens. P.

LETTER XIV.

GOBRYAS to CLEANDER

THOU continueſt, CLEANDER, to give frequent proofs of thy zeal and abilities in the diſpatches, which thou writeſt to the miniſters of the Perſian court. Our royal maſter is happy in poſſeſſing ſo good a ſervant, particularly at a time, when the wiſdom of our counſels muſt aſſiſt us to regain, what we have loſt by the misfortunes of our arms. Thy laſt letters to MEGABYZUS, and myſelf, were particularly acceptable. They ſhew, that not contented with being a bare annaliſt of the public tranſactions, thou entereſt into the very genius and diſpoſitions of the people, amongſt whom thou reſideſt; and that as thou converſeſt with perſons the moſt intelligent in the government and manners of Athens, ſo thou art no leſs careful to enrich thy country with the fruits of thy knowledge. I will only ſuggeſt this caution to thee, not to ſuffer the partial repreſentations, which the Greeks make of their own policy and religion, to inſpire thee with a diſlike to thoſe of Perſia; nor let the many inſtances, which thou muſt obſerve, of a licentious liberty towards magiſtrates and rulers pervert thy affections from the ſovereign of the Eaſt; neither imagine, that cuſtoms, which ſuit the level conditions of the members of a republic, would equally become the gravity and ſtrict diſcipline of a monarchy. Whatever informations thou canſt acquire relating to the trade, revenues, or marine of Athens, her religious ceremonies or civil inſtitutions, will not fail to recommend thy diligence to a prince, whoſe goodneſs never forgets the meaneſt labours of his ſervants, and whoſe generoſity takes

every opportunity of rewarding them. As an earneſt of what thou mayſt expect, he ſends thee, by this courier, a ring ſparkling with a precious ſtone taken out of the royal treaſury, two Median horſes with rich capariſons, and a purſe of 500 golden darics. Receive this regal munificence with gratitude, and prove by thy ſervices, that thou art not unworthy ſo great a mark of confidence and favour. It remains for me to inform thee, that ſeveral councils were lately held on Grecian affairs; in which it was debated, whether the great king ſhould immediately offer his mediation by a ſolem embaſſy to the Athenians and the Peloponneſian allies; or whether he ſhould ſuffer the war to continue, till both ſides were further weakened, and the loſing party reduced to make application to us. The latter meaſure has, I think, with good reaſon, been choſen. It was conſidered, that it ſeems more for the honour of Perſia not to enter into theſe affairs uninvited, and perhaps expoſe her mediation to contempt. Beſides there is ſome danger, that if we diſcover our intentions too early, the natural jealouſies of the Greeks, with regard to us, may be awakened; a ſenſe of their mutual intereſts prevail over the ſpirit of diſſention and tumult, which now reigns among them; and ſo the game be play'd out of our hands, through our own want of dexterity in managing it. Whereas on the other hand, by delaying to open the part, which Perſia deſigns to take in theſe differences, the alarm, which Sparta has conceived at the riſing greatneſs of Athens, is ſo great, that the war is likely to continue and grow hotter every year. The conquering party will encreaſe in their pretenſions; the vanquiſhed exaſperated by their loſſes, unwilling to yield to thoſe who were formerly their equals, and unable to defend themſelves, can have no where recourſe for aſſiſtance but to us; and thus the balance muſt naturally be placed in our hands, and the Grecian ſtates, diverted from making conqueſts over us, will voluntary ſue for protection againſt their powerful neighbours, to a country they formerly deſpiſed and hated.

But I forbear inſiſting upon the advantages ariſing to Perſia from this conduct; it is every way ſo agreeable to her true intereſts, that it would be doubting thy judgment to inforce it by farther arguments.

Advice from Lacedæmon aſſures us, that the leading men among the allies are determined before the end of the year to ſend a formal embaſſy to the great king, requeſting that he would enter into the league, and furniſh them with ſupplies of men and money. Fail not to advertiſe, whether the Athenians have notice of this; and whether they have any intention to follow an example ſo glorious for Perſia.

Before I conclude this diſpatch, I am to acquaint thee, by the king's expreſs order, that he is ſenſible, in caſe the plague breaks out at Athens, (as it is reported) what dangers thou muſt be expoſed to in a city not able to contain its numerous inhabitants, whoſe preſent inconveniences ſo terrible a diſtreſs will neceſſarily encreaſe; and therefore he thinks it proper for thee to remove to a place, which may be free from that calamity, and at the ſame time not far from Athens. Thus neither will thy own ſafety be expoſed, nor at the ſame time the king's ſervice receive any detriment.

When thou readeſt this inſtance of royal tenderneſs for an uſeful miniſter, and receiveſt the marks of princely bounty which accompany it, thou haſt reaſon to thank the mighty OROMASDES, that thou art born a ſubject of Perſia, and liveſt under the reign of ARTAXERXES.

From Suſa. P.

LETTER XV.

HYDASPES to CLEANDER.

HEARING of the meſſenger that was to ſet out to you from GOBRYAS, I would not omit the opportunity it offers me of expreſſing the concern I am under for your ſafety; the lateſt reports from Greece having informed us, that they begin to be under diſmal apprehenſion of the plague at Athens. It is ſaid, that the cattle*, as they graze in the meads adjacent to that city, are ſeized with the noxious vapours aſcending from the earth, and fall inſtantaneouſly dead; the ſure and common preſage, that the ſame calamity will ſoon extend itſelf to the human ſpecies. I could wiſh therefore, you was removed farther from the contagion. May at leaſt thoſe propitious beings, who under the great OROMASDES, are the guardians of our ſtate, preſerve the faithful miniſter of the great king, even amidſt the regions of death. I wiſh thou wer't ſafe at Suſa, could the intereſts of ARTAXERXES be ſerved ſo well by any other perſon leſs valuable to all his friends. Whilſt we enjoy the clemencies of a mild and wholeſome air, thou in a rough and unpleaſant country, expoſed to the rigours of a northern ſky, art not only placed amidſt tumults, depopulations, and the alarms of war, but art expoſed to evils which no human forecaſt can ward againſt; all which thou beareſt moſt willingly for the ſervice of Perſia. Excellent CLEANDER! what reward will not thy merit call for? May ſome happy day reſtore thee to thy friends and country, where MEGABYZUS, who knows thy worth, will raiſe thee to diſtinguiſhed honours, and place thee in ſome

* Οὐρῆας μὲν πρώτον ἐπώχελο. Iliad. a.

tranquil ſtation under the ſmiles of our mighty ſovereign. That great miniſter knows ſo well to allay the boiſterous ſwellings and animoſities of contending intereſts, that peace and unanimity ſeem now entirely to prevail over faction and diſcord; and may they long continue undiſturb'd by the ſeditious efforts of envy and ambition, in the Perſian court! A ſenſe too of duty to the ſupreme being ſeems more fervent upon our minds than uſual; though were we ever ſo forgetful of it at other times, our late deliverances would ſtrongly have demanded it from us at this. And here it may not be unentertaining to mention to thee, with what religious care a ſolemn feſtival was celebrated thereupon at Suſa. Forty days were ſet apart for feaſts and ſacrifices; during that time the court put on an extraordinary air of ſplendor and chearfulneſs; but there were none of thoſe looſer revels, which commonly attend an exceſs of rejoicing. The moſt eminent of the Magi, from all the colleges in Perſia, were ſummoned to be preſent at the ſacrifices. The firſt morning the chief of the Magi, with a long train of his aſſociates, and the ſeveral miniſters of the religious ceremonies following him †, aſcended the higheſt of the mountains that environ Suſa to the north; clad in the ſacred veſtments, his ‡ tiara interwoven with myrtle. He bowed twice towards the riſing ſun; then led the victim to the appointed ground, and there invok'd the god. ARTAXERXES and the Queen, XERXES, SOGDIANUS, OCHUS, and ARSITES, with all the other princes of the blood, were preſent at theſe holy rites. Each of the Magi ſung oriſons in their turn to the great author of the world. But ARIMASPES, as chief in dignity, had juſtly the preference given him of hymning the praiſe of OROMASDES the beſt. "How, at his great command, the wide expanſe "was filled with beings; how, at his word, the bright and "radiant ſun firſt ſpread his gilded rays to chear and gladden "nature; how the elements were diſpoſed by him, and the

† Herod. Clio. c. 131. ‡ Ibid. c. 132.

" ſeeds of all things ranged in order; how, by his power, " they are preſerv'd, and made the principles of life and ve- " getation to all creatures, which, if he withheld his ſalutary " influences, would ſwarm at once with death and contagion; " how, by him alone, the ſubtle fleeces of the air are kept " untainted, and the earth free from impurities and infection: " hence that the whole expanſe is GOD, ſince he pervades " the whole, and by his power is preſent every where." The ſong being ended, you might have ſeen the awful lord of Aſia proſtrate on the earth, acknowledging a much higher power; a power upon whom he and all the princes of the earth depend. The inferior Magi ſacrificed in their order, according to their different inſtitutions; and joined at laſt in one general ſymphony of praiſe, while a hundred victims loſt their breath, to the eternal ſource of good. It was glorious to obſerve the long proceſſion as it aſcended up the ſteep; but more ſo, to behold the vaſt retinue, and ſplendid equipages ſpreading over the ſummits of the higheſt hills; the ſparkling enſigns of regality; the ſtately canopy blazing with the gems of Indus; the rich capariſons of the camels and horſes; and then to ſee the mightieſt ſatraps, together with their potent lord, deſcend from their ſeats of ſtate, bowing themſelves all at once before the greater ſovereign of the univerſe. When this ſolemn ceremony was ended, the whole company returned in the ſame regular order, in which they went. The proceſſion entred the ſpacious encloſure of the royal palace at the gate of Memnon, where a ſumptuous entertainment was prepared. The king himſelf ſat at one table with the princes of the blood, waited upon by the great officers of the houſhold: at another the moſt conſiderable ſatraps, and the generals of the army: at a third the venerable body of the Magi; and at others, through the ſeveral ſtately apartments of the palace, the inhabitants of Suſa. During the entertainment the halls reſounded with the melodious airs of women, and the enchanting ſtrains of the moſt ſkilful muſicians. Nothing could

be added to the ſplendor, order, and variety, that appeared on this occaſion. Thy friends wanted thee alone to complete their ſatisfaction. This only conſolation remains to them, that by undergoing a few temporary inconveniencies, thou art in the higheſt degree uſeful to thy king and thy country. Adieu.

From Suſa. L.

End of the firſt year of the war.

A. M. 3574. *3d year of the 87th Olymp.*
2d year of the Peloponneſian war.

LETTER XVI.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS, chief ſcribe to ARTAXERXES king of Perſia.

I received the diſpatch, which thou ſenteſt me by the courier HYDARNES; and acknowledge myſelf highly honoured, that I am thought worthy to partake in the ſecret counſels of our great monarch, as well as ſenſibly affected by the ſignal generoſity and tenderneſs, which he ſhews for his faithful ſlave. I proſtrate myſelf before the footſtool of his ſhining throne, and wiſh him length of days; a bleſſing, which is ſure to give perpetuity to the happineſs of Perſia, and the only one, that remains to be added to the wiſdom of his government, the greatneſs of his ſoul, and the princely benevolence of his temper.

I obeyed the command laid upon me to retire during the height of the plague, and have found an hoſpitable retreat in the iſland Salamis; but I fear, though my own ſafety is leſs endangered, I ſhall be neceſſarily ſlower in executing the king's orders, and tranſmitting accounts of Grecian affairs. If any delay ſhould happen, I hope it will not be imputed to my negligence, but to the inconveniencies of

the times, and the difficulty of procuring intelligence here, through the caution of the magiſtrates.

Juſt before the plague broke out, the Peloponneſian army, under the command of ARCHIDAMUS king of Sparta, made a ſecond invaſion into Attica; they are now marched towards the mountain Larius, where the Athenians have ſilver mines. I believe the plan of the war will not be different from that of the laſt year: and this dreadful calamity takes away the flower of their citizens and ſoldiers, and ſo diſpirits the reſt, that PERICLES does not think it prudent to hazard the iſſue of a battle. In order however to make a diverſion, a ſquadron of 100 galleys is preparing to put to ſea, which he intends to command himſelf. His enemies incenſe the people againſt him (who were never more haraſſed and uneaſy) by ſaying, that the vaſt numbers he drew out of the country laſt year, encreaſe the contagion of the diſtemper. I gave the reaſons of that meaſure in a former letter; and cannot help ſaying, that it is highly unjuſt and unfair, to charge him with all thoſe croſs accidents of fortune, which the moſt refined human prudence and forecaſt cannot prevent. It ſeems as unreaſonable as to aſſert, that the plague is owing to his contrivance. By going admiral in perſon, he either intends to perſerve his credit, and keep up the ſpirits of his countrymen by ſome remarkable exploit, or elſe to withdraw himſelf from the clamours of his enemies, till the fury of the diſeaſe is a little abated.

The reſemblance of the ſymptoms ſhew, that the plague is of the ſame ſtrange nature, as that which began in Ethiopia and Egypt, and afterwards ravaged the Perſian provinces.

Every other ſickneſs turns immediately to this, which generally kills in ſeven or eight days, after great pains and

eruptions in all parts of the body, inſatiate thirſt, want of ſleep, and variety of circumſtances, which increaſe the natural terrors and uneaſineſs of death. It is very remarkable, that none who recover are ever ſeized with it a ſecond time; yet even in ſome of theſe it ſtrikes upon their ſenſes, effaces the memory of all paſſages of their lives, and makes them forget their neareſt relations. What is moſt ſurprizing is, that no certain remedies can be applied: a medecine that does good to one, is hurtful to another; and the care and cloſeſt attendance of the phyſician are as uſeleſs, as the utmoſt efforts of his art.

The air itſelf partakes of the malignity; the birds drop down, as they fly along the ſtreets; and the dead bodies, for want of interment, ſhare the ſame ſepulchre with the brutes, and are caſt out in the public ſtreets, ſo many loathſome and moving ſpectacles of mortality. The greateſt part of the inhabitants of the country, who for want of other accommodations were forced to dwell in booths and huts ſet up in the public places, are liable to the greateſt inconveniencies. The living and the dead amongſt them lie confuſed in heaps, ſome in the agonies of death, others lifting up their hands to heaven, and imploring the divine aſſiſtance, and many gaſping round the fountains, where they crowd to quench their thirſt. Nay, what is almoſt incredible, a neglect of religion and the laws is introduced by the prevalence of this calamity; of the former, becauſe they ſee the plague deſtroys alike the pious and the wicked; of the latter, becauſe no one expects his life will laſt till legal juſtice overtakes him. Indeed nothing contributes more to the diſorderly condition they are in, than the want of proper regulations for removing, and attending the ſick, and burning the dead: and were they of an humour to ſubmit to any thing like reſtraint, it might preſerve them from the confuſion and miſery they now undergo. Such is the diſmal ſtate

of affairs at Athens; to which no ſmall relief is brought by the arrival of HIPPOCRATES, the famous Coan phyſician; who is determined, though at the hazard of his life, to devote himſelf entirely to the ſervice of the diſeaſed. This generoſity has ſo ſenſibly affected the people of Athens, that they reſolve to beſtow on him ſome illuſtrious mark of their eſteem and favour. I need not mention, that they honour him the more, for having refuſed the munificent offers of the great king, that he might be quite at liberty when Greece demanded his aſſiſtance.

I can aſſure thee, that the Athenians have no information yet of the Peloponneſian embaſſy; but PERICLES has agents in all parts, who will not fail to give him early notice of it. There is a remarkable ſtory of him, that upon giving in his accounts once to the people, in an article of 15 talents no particular ſervice was ſpecified. His enemies taking the advantage immediately inſiſted he ſhould explain it; to which he replied very readily, that this ſum was employed on a ſervice of great importance, which it was abſolutely neceſſary to keep ſecret. The people were ſatisfied and made no farther enquiry. It is generally ſuppoſed, that theſe 15 talents were laid out at Sparta to keep off a war, till the Athenians were better prepared for it. The Lacedæmonians have a fine opportunity, if they make the beſt uſe of this campaign; but I am told they are diſcontented with ARCHIDAMUS their general, who declared himſelf openly againſt the war, and is unwilling to engage his ſtate too far in it. Beſides nothing conſiderable can be done againſt the Athenians by land, and they always have a good fleet at ſea, to guard their coaſts, interrupt the commerce of their enemies, and prevent the defection of their allies. I ſend thee incloſed a liſt of the allies on both ſides, and the contributions they furniſh towards the war. The Athenians are abſolute maſters over theirs, whereas the ſeparate intereſts amongſt the Peloponneſians

embarraſs their military operations for want of unanimity. Excuſe, potent miniſter, the diſmal ſcene of death and deſolation, which I ſet before thee in the former part of this diſpatch; but I might juſtly have been eſteemed inſenſible, if the little I ſaw myſelf, and the large accounts I received from others, had made only a tranſient impreſſion. Compaſſion is a common tribute to the miſeries and infirmities, which human nature is expoſed to; and a generous mind like thine pays it willingly to the worſt of its foes. Much more then let the humbleſt ſervant of ARTAXERXES, the faithful CLEANDER, claim ſome ſhare of pity in his hazardous ſituation. But he repines not at his fate; he ſhould think it honourable to periſh in the ſervice of his maſter. He is thankful to OROMASDES for the life he ſtill enjoys, and refers the uncertain events of futurity to his overruling will. Adieu.

From Salamis. P.

Allies of the Athenians.

The Chians, Leſbians, Platæans, Corcyræans, moſt of Acarnanians, Meſſenians, &c.

Allies of the Lacedæmonians.

All Peloponneſus, except Argos, and Achaia; the Megareans, Phocians, Locrians, Bœotians, Ambraciots, Leucadians and Anactorians.

LETTER XVII.

SMERDIS to CLEANDER.

WERE the ſweeteſt retirement a ſufficient aſylum from care, the Magi would be exempted from thoſe reflections, which prey upon the minds of unhappy mortals. We inhabit thoſe groves, which have been the manſions of the wiſe and virtuous by the appointment of ZOROASTRES, who bleſſed them with his abode; and whoſe memory ſtill warms our breaſts with a noble enthuſiaſm. We point out in our pleaſed imaginations the paths he trod, and the places he took moſt delight in: here, ſay we, within the ſpacious arch of this cave he penn'd his divine precepts; on the ſlope of yonder hill, or under the ſhade of that ancient cedar, he repoſed himſelf, and while his eyelids ſhut out the piercing light, his ſoul was open to the milder influence of OROMASDES. He held an intercourſe with the heavenly bodies from the ſummit of this pyramid, or that mount, whoſe ſides are covered with odorous ſhrubs, that ſcarce afford a perplexed path to its top. The very air of this country is perfumed and of a purer draught; the ſky more ſerene and of a brighter azure; the proſpects beautiful and various, ſince nature is not only favourable to us, but has received all the improvement ſhe was capable of, without being diſguiſed by art. Immenſe wealth has been beſtowed on her cultivation, yet the richneſs of her dreſs ſeems to ariſe from the genius of the place. You are ſurprized at the elegance that appears, yet can ſee nothing but what bears a reſemblance to ſomething you have obſerved in rude nature; like a miſtreſs of a well ordered fa-

mily, though ſhe receives you with the utmoſt delicacy and magnificence, it is with that eaſe, that ſhe ſeems not to be at any trouble, or to have been put out of her ordinary courſe for your entertainment.

Yet I muſt confeſs, amidſt theſe delightful ſcenes, ſacred to peace and the contemplation of everlaſting OROMASDES, I am not without ſome anxiety for your ſafety, O CLEANDER, when I conſider your hazardous ſituation for the ſervice of Perſia, and your zeal for that monarch, who outſhines all his predeceſſors in juſtice, who will not fail to reward the ſucceſs, which your zeal and penetration promiſes to our affairs. Your ſteady affection has gained you much confidence with the great, and your perfect knowledge of the language, intereſts, and politics of our enemies, no leſs than thoſe of Perſia, give great aſſurance to your friends, that you ſhall one day be recalled from your obſcurity to be raiſed high in the court of Suſa. Your merit to your country will meet with other recompence than the jealouſy of Greece generally affords her benefactors. The ſovereign of the eaſt is too generous to ſuſpect rivalſhip in his faithful ſervants, and will look upon the influence you ſhall gain in the ſtates of Greece, as the greateſt teſtimony of your fidelity.

I ſometimes reflect on the worſt that can befal you, from the prying diſcernment of the people you converſe with, or thoſe who are jealous of your credit at the court; but the ſagacity of your prince will guard you from your domeſtic foes; and ſhould the popular violence of Athens make itſelf accountable for your death, Aſia would pour forth its numerous troops to revenge ſo baſe an indignity to the ſervant of ARTAXERXES. Perhaps you will think this lofty ſtrain proceeds more from the zeal of a Perſian, than my true ſentiments, ſince we have experienced that a numerous army, nay I might ſay numerous nations in arms, have been found unequal to the ſlender but well conducted power of thoſe

ſmaller ſtates; our ſoldiers have been diſtreſſed and ſcattered, though equal in number to all the inhabitants of Greece. But may I not hope, CLEANDER, that that inſinuating evil, luxury the parent of all our ſhame and misfortunes, has at laſt found a place amongſt our enemies? Has not ſecurity, the reſult of ſucceſs, relaxed their ſevere morals, and introduced emaſculating pleaſures, to which alone they are obliged, for the advantages gained over us? Are not theſe the Grecian refinements we hear ſo much of? Does not that boaſted ſuperiority in arts and politeneſs (from whence they brand all the world with the name of Barbarians) break out into extravagancy of dreſs, diet, and deportment? And has not by this time the unreſtrained populace, intoxicated with victory, miſtaken licentiouſneſs for liberty? Or is it poſſible, that a people ſo free and ſo ſucceſsful ſhould continue upon their guard againſt theſe worſt of foes? No certainly, CLEANDER, the Perſian luxury muſt be part of their acquiſitions, which like the fatal peſtilence, that occaſioned ſuch deſolation in this empire, paſs'd through Aſia into Greece, and now preys upon our foes, muſt take its laſt reſidence with them; a diſeaſe more deſtructive than the peſtilence, and which will baffle the ſkill of that haughty Coan phyſician, who had he more lives than ever his art preſerved, would deſerve to forfeit them all in tortures for his inſolence to the world's greateſt monarch. I need not tell you (what I doubt not is the boaſt of every Greek) that when he was conjured to paſs over into Aſia, by a promiſe of that friendſhip which princes ſue for, and to ſhare in that wealth which is the tribute of three hundred provinces, he anſwered diſdainfully, he would not deſert his country to ſerve a Barbarian. Shame to the kingdom of Cyrus, that his ſucceſſors, before whom the mighty ſatraps proſtrate themſelves to the earth, and whoſe name is awful to half mankind, ſhould become the ſcorn of an ignoble Coan. But the Almighty has puniſhed him, by transferring that evil on his own coun-

try, which he refuſed to ſuppreſs in Perſia; which may teach us, that the worſhippers of OROMASDES are not forſaken, ſince, though he has denied ſucceſs to our arms, he has himſelf chaſtiſed the inſolence of our foes.

From Balch in Bactria. H.

LETTER XVIII.

CLEANDER to ORSAMES.

I have been informed of thy riſing character not only from the chamberlain HYDASPES, but the common voice of fame; and am the more confirmed in the juſt expectations I had conceived of thee, from the late honour of thy letter. The wiſeſt legiſlators of Greece have generally made it one of their excellent laws, that the young men ſhould pay reſpect to the ſage inſtructions of their elders. But ſurely if this maxim may at any time be ſet aſide, it ought never to be more reverſed than in our correſpondence. For when I conſider the luſtre of thy parts, and the reach of thy knowledge, at a time of life, which brings few even to the exerciſe of reaſon; I amuſe myſelf with the agreeable thoughts of profiting by thy information; far, very far from imagining, that any thing, which falls from CLEANDER, can be of ſervice to ORSAMES. However, as I ſhall always be proud to ſhew every mark of regard to a nobleman of your quality and hopes, I can aſſure thee, generous lord, that I think myſelf highly honoured by the particular and diſtinguiſhing proof, thou haſt granted me, of thy favour.

It is with the utmoſt ſatisfaction I obſerve, how much thou canſt diſdain the oſtentation and luxury of the Perſian nobility; and rather employeſt thyſelf in the uſeful purſuits of knowledge, than wandereſt in the deſtructive paths of intoxicating pleaſure. To ſay the truth, when I reflect on this particular, I admire thee for anticipating the experience without the infirmity of years, and moderating the fever of youth without loſing the true ſpirit of it. Thou haſt made it thy buſineſs, from the very earlieſt days of thy infancy, to acquaint thyſelf with the religion, laws, and conſtitution of thy country; and art now travelling through other regions, to ſurvey the temper, cuſtoms, and policy of thoſe, who differ from us. Thy epiſtle from Babylon is ſufficient to convince me, thou art well qualified from thy curioſity and eagerneſs, to procure the exacteſt intelligence; from thy judg- and diſcretion, to ſelect the moſt intereſting circumſtances; from thy ingenuity and good ſenſe, to relate them in the moſt accurate manner; from thy prudence and ſagacity, to draw the beſt and moſt rational inferences from them all. I am extremely impatient to learn a few particulars of that extraordinary people the Egyptians; who inhabit a country, as remarkable for the polity of its laws, the wiſdom of its religion, and the knowledge of its prieſts, as for the trade of its cities, the grandeur of its buildings, and the fertility of its ſoil. When thou entereſt into that ſtore-houſe of wealth and commerce, (for ſo it may be termed with juſtice) that repoſitory of all ſacred and profane ſcience, thou wilt be wrapt in pleaſure and aſtoniſhment, at the variety, not to ſay profuſion, of bleſſings, which art and nature have poured out, for the ſubſiſtence, convenience, and ornament of that happy nation. A man of thy underſtanding will find a ſecret delight in tracing out the ſteps of the great heroes of antiquity; he will be ſtudious of ſearching into the annals of their ſtory, and will meet with no ſmall entertainment in hearing of the victories and military virtue of SESOSTRIS, or the peaceful

arts and government of OSIRIS. He will liſten with attention to the philoſophical precepts and dark oracles of the prieſts; he will inveſtigate the long records of lunar years, and unveil the myſterious ſyſtem of aſtronomy, and frame of nature, with much labour and toil. He will viſit their public edifices, and the palaces of their kings, with admiration; and behold the temples of their gods with reverential regard. Thoſe ſtupendous works of antiquity, which ſtill exiſt there, can by no means eſcape the prying curioſity of his ſoul, or the careful diligence of his enquiries. He will view the pyramids and mauſoleums, which have been preſerved entire through a long courſe of centuries, the wonder of the world, with ſpeculations of a moral kind. He will look upon them, as erected by the moſt powerful princes of the earth for a memorial of their pride to future ages, and as intended rather for an amazing ſpectacle to the living, than as places of repoſe to the dead. He will conſider, that the founders of thoſe monuments cloſed up the laſt ſcene of their falſe greatneſs, in life, by raiſing theſe altars to their vanity; and gave in death an example to mankind of the extreme littleneſs of mortal arrogance, by mingling their own duſt with ſo poor a ſhare of that earth, which once was not ſufficient to contain them.

The next period of thy journey leads thee into Greece, a country very different from that of Egypt, both in the qualities of its climate, and the manners of its people. Inſtead of the ſplendor and magnificence, which appears in the cities of the latter, thou wilt find a general turn to parſimony and frugality among the inhabitants of the former. Inſtead of the peace and unanimity, which exiſts under a monarchical government, the popular frame of the Grecian republics is continually ſhaken by domeſtic faction. Athens, through the extent and abundance of her trade, the induſtry and œconomy of her people, the wiſdom and courage of the great

men ſhe has produced, hath for many years borne the principal ſway in their counſels. But the ſtates of Peloponneſus, ſomewhat envious of her authority, have at length determined to deſtroy it. A violent peſtilence, and a ſtrong oppoſition to the meaſures of PERICLES, their chief adviſer in this war, are at the ſame time broke out among the citizens. PERICLES, with no other reſtraint on the caprice of his countrymen, than what his own diſcretion can command, withſtands the clamours of party, and the ſtouteſt efforts of ſedition. However, he cannot hold it long; for I eaſily conjecture, from the preſent poſture of affairs, that his enemies will never leave him, till they have wreſted the reins of power from his hands. But more of this, when I ſhall enjoy the honour of thy company and converſation in the town of of Athens, which is the place of my reſidence and buſineſs.

In the mean time give me leave to ſay, that I wiſh the improvement thou receiveſt from thy travels, may be equal to thy laudable thirſt after knowledge: at leaſt I know the reſult of them will, one day, be applied to the glory and ſecurity of our ſovereign and the Perſian empire. Thus, inſtead of meanly depending on the noble actions of thy anceſtors, as the only merit thou canſt boaſt, thy reputation will be as much ſuperior to theirs, as thy virtues are ſuperior. By this means thou wilt reflect a luſtre on the fame of thy fathers; thou wilt become an honour to thyſelf and family; an ornament and ſervice to thy friends and thy country. Adieu

C.

I had almoſt forgotten to tell thee, that by the goodneſs of the king I am permitted to retire to Salamis, during the infection of the plague.

LETTER XIX.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

THY accounts of the marriage at ECBATANA, and thankſgiving ſacrifice on the hills of Suſa, were ſo kindly and agreeably written, that I ſhould appear inexcuſably negligent in the cultivation of that friendſhip, which I eſteem an honour to my character, if I ſuffered a want of equal materials to plead my excuſe for not anſwering them. It is needleſs to trouble thee with a long relation of the diſtreſs of the Athenians, ſince, beſides the exact information thou haſt already met with, I am afraid it would prove a very melancholy return to the pleaſing cheerfulneſs of thy letters. But if pleaſures of a private nature, in which thy friend is concerned, can add any thing to the ſatisfaction thou receiveſt from thoſe of a public one, I will give thee a deſcription of my retirement into Salamis, during the contagion of the plague; and the manner in which I employ my leiſure hours. My old patron PHILEMON, through a laudable zeal in the ſervice of his country, reſolves to abide in the city, though at the peril of his own life. In the mean while, he has entruſted me with the charge of his family, and has ſent us to his country-ſeat in this place, which is ſituated but a few furlongs from the coaſt of Attica.

Salamis is a ſmall iſland of about two hundred and twenty ſtadia in circumference, remarkable for a complete victory gained over the fleet of XERXES by the conduct of THEMISTOCLES. It contains within that little compaſs a moſt ſurprizing variety of hills and vales, rocks and plains, rivers

and meadows, fruitful fields and ſpacious lawns. Theſe are diverſified with many beautiful villas, belonging to the principal citizens and magiſtrates of the town of Athens. Several plantations of fruit and foreſt trees, all ſtrangers to the ſoil and climate of Perſia, are here cultivated by the ſkill of the careful inhabitant, and contribute in a great meaſure to the romantic air and confuſion of the landſcape. On the ſummit of a lofty mountain, in the very middle of the iſland, you are preſented with the nobleſt and moſt extenſive proſpect in the world. One view to the north, (to ſay nothing of the pleaſant country lying at your feet) commands Megara and Athens, with the ſhips in the Piræean harbour, through a conſiderable tract of land into the territories of Bœotia. Towards the ſouth, the cities of Argos, Mycenæ, and Epidaurus riſe full before your eyes. To the eaſt, you are ſoon ſtruck with thoſe numerous iſles, called the Cyclades, which appear like ſo many pointed rocks diſperſed over the Ægean ſea; and to the weſt, you ſurvey the Iſthmus, with the ſtately buildings of Corinth. The houſe and gardens of my friend are plain and homely, unadorned with the pride of eaſtern magnificence, and improved by the Attic elegance of their owner. I frequently compare them with thoſe of Alcinous in the Grecian Homer; and find the ſame ſimplicity in both, free from the falſe ornament and pomp of luxury. My time has of late been a good deal taken up (when the buſineſs of the king would permit me) in the peruſal of the Grecian poets and hiſtorians. As thy curioſity will perhaps make thee deſirous of being acquainted with their names and writings, I will fill this diſpatch with the cleareſt account I have been able to obtain of them.

For this purpoſe I ſhall begin with thoſe, who have done moſt honour to the art of poetry; ſince it was originally the chief vehicle, by which the knowledge of government, religion, or philoſophy was conveyed to the dark underſtand-

ings of mankind. The firſt founders of the fabulous theology are uncertain. LINUS, ORPHEUS, and MUSÆUS are remembered with ſome general marks of eſteem, even in theſe ages of Greece. But their hiſtory is too uncertain and fictitious to bear a ſerious relation. We muſt deſcend therefore immediately to HOMER, who was at once the firſt and greateſt poet of antiquity. The ſubject of his admired performance is the ſiege of Troy, and the adventures of the Grecian heroes, particularly of ULYSSES, on their returning, after a long abſence, to their native kingdoms. He is ſaid to have flouriſhed between two and three hundred years after the deſtruction of that potent empire; and the Greeks retain ſuch an high veneration for his memory, that many towns ſtill contend for the honour of his birth. Smyrna carries the faireſt title of them all; in confidence whereof ſhe has erected a temple to his name, and the people worſhip him with the ſacred rites of adoration. Conſider him in his perſon and fortune, he is repreſented as a ſtrolling indigent bard. Conſider him in the qualities of his mind, poſſeſſed of every natural and acquired endowment human nature is capable of, it is impoſſible to refuſe him that reverence and regard, which is ſo juſtly due to the "father of the Grecian poets." At the ſame time I cannot be of their opinion, who aſcribe the riſe of all military and civil policy, religion and learning, to the genius of HOMER. It is enough to tranſmit his praiſe to the lateſt poſterity, that the warmth and ſpirit of his expreſſion is equal to the ſtrength and loftineſs of his thought, and the boldneſs of his imagination to the fertility of it. To this give me leave to add, that the beauty and contrivance of his fables, the muſic and variety of his numbers, and the regular compoſition of the whole, have raiſed the dignity of epic poetry in its infancy, if not at its very birth, to an inimitable period of perfection; inſomuch that futurity ſhall wonder, without being able to arrive at it. HESIOD was a native of Cuma in Ætolia, and re-

moved ſoon after his birth to Aſcra in Bœotia. His writings are eſteemed next in antiquity and value to thoſe of HOMER. Some have wantonly made them contemporaries, and pretend to ſay, that HESIOD got the better of HOMER in a poetical diſpute. But this is highly improbable, ſince it may be confeſs'd without detracting from his real merit, that HESIOD is by no means his equal. Beſides, the nature of their talents is as different, as the ſtyle of their poems. The one excels more in ſublimity than in accuracy: is leſs indebted to art than to nature; more engaged in the tumults of war, than the quiet of retirement. The other is rather ſtudious of plainneſs than ſublimity; leſs fond of ornament, than propriety; more addicted to the images of a rural life, than the buſy ſcenes of a public one. The ſimplicity of his parts, and the agreeable ſoftneſs of his diſpoſition, are evident from his choice of a ſtile between loftineſs and meanneſs, which is well ſuited to the undiſturbed tranquility of his ſtation and temper. His ſucceſs in this kind of poetry is ſufficient to juſtify his claim to the ſecond rank, without ever placing him in competition with HOMER for the firſt. They tell an odd ſtory of him, which ſhews him to have been a man of either humour or caprice. For accidentally as he one day over-heard a potter at his daily labour ſinging ſome of his verſes with an ill accent and cadence, he threw himſelf down on the poor man's brittle property; at which the fellow immediately cried out, "why do you ſpoil my work?" "becauſe, anſwered "HESIOD, you ſpoil mine."

ALCÆUS excelled in a different way both from HOMER and HESIOD; but was more deſirous of acquiring reputation in the capacity of a ſoldier and a patriot, than in that of a poet. His pretentions however to the two former are not ſo well grounded as his pretenſions to the latter. For as to his military glory, it appears, that in a battle between

the Athenians and Mytileneans he fled ſuddenly from the engagement, and diſhonourably left his ſhield in the poſſeſſion of an enemy. And as to his zeal in the ſervice of his country notwithſtanding his violent oppoſition to the meaſures of PITTACUS, the prudent tyrant of Mytilene, he was ambitious of aſpiring to that arbitrary command, which he blamed in the hands of another. All his writings are in the lyric ſtrain, and compoſed in a very fine meaſure peculiar to himſelf. He has happily united cloſeneſs with magnificence, ſpirit with correctneſs, and the utmoſt ſtrength of judgment with the warmth of fancy; and though his muſe is generally employed in matters of love and gallantry, yet he always ſhews himſelf fit for ſubjects of a nobler nature. Since I have mentioned ALCÆUS, I ſhould not omit his famous contemporary SAPPHO, who flouriſhed in Mytilene about the forty-fourth olympiad, and was a woman of no great beauty, but of infinite delicacy and wit; enough one would have thought to atone for her other defects. She diſdained the moſt paſſionate addreſſes of ALCÆUS; and upon his whiſpering to her one day, "that "he had ſomething to tell her, but was aſhamed of it," ſhe anſwered with a juſt indignation, "that if he had no reaſon "to be aſhamed of it, he would not conceal it." Her cruelty to him is the more remarkable, becauſe ſhe was much enamoured of one PHAON, whoſe unkindneſs in leaving her, as it was the occaſion of her fineſt performances, ſo it was the cauſe of her death. She had a wonderful vein of inſinuation and ſoftneſs, which, even now, gives her writings ſuch a powerful ſway over the tendereſt affections of human nature. There is ſomething ſo graceful and unaffected in her expreſſion and ſentiments, ſo ſmooth and harmonious in her numbers, that the title of "tenth muſe," beſtowed on her by the common voice of Greece, is no more than a due teſtimony of reſpect to the merit of her poetry.

ARCHILOCHUS was a native of Paros, and held in eſteem as a poet, about the ſame time with SAPPHO and ALCÆUS. He generally paſſes among the Greeks for the inventor of a peculiar meaſure, called Iambic verſe; but a man of learning aſſured me, that there is a piece of HOMER's, named Margites, ſtill extant, that proves the contrary. His way of writing is ſtrong and nervous, ſhort and pointed, witty and ſatyrical, but tinctured with ſo much gall and malice, that he himſelf profeſſes, "he could ſpare neither friend nor foe." They tell a remarkable ſtory of him, that one LYCAMBES having offered him his daughter in marriage, and afterwards refuſed to give her, ARCHILOCHUS laſhed them with ſuch rancour and ſeverity, that he and his daughter both hang'd themſelves.

Some years after liv'd ANACREON of Teos in Ionia, a man of eaſe and pleaſure, dividing his time betwixt the amuſements of wine, love, and poetry. He was ſo profeſſed an enemy to care and buſineſs, that when his patron POLYCRATES of Samos made him one day a preſent of five talents, it diſturbed his ſleep; ſo he carried it back again the next, and told him, "that how conſiderable ſoever the ſum might "be, it was not a reward equal to the trouble of preſerving "it." His writings are agreeable to the freedom of his behaviour; ſo that he draws a very lively picture of his own character in the ſeveral touches of nature, that are to be found in his odes and ſonnets. We may compare his muſe to his miſtreſs; ſhe ſeems airy, looſe, and negligent, and is dreſs'd up with more art, the more ſhe hides the appearance of it. He lived eighty-five years in one continued ſeries of health and retirement. To make his death conformable to his life, he is ſaid to have been choak'd with a grape-ſtone in his wine.

I ſhall not trouble thee with any memoirs of ALCMAN, BACCHYLIDES, IBYCUS, STESICHORUS, and SIMONIDES; though they excelled each in their different way, and the laſt of them hath particularly recorded, in verſe, the four fights of MARATHON, THERMOPYLÆ, SALAMIS, and PLATÆA. But of all thoſe, who contributed to ſupport the grandeur of the lyric muſe, PINDAR muſt be mentioned with moſt regard. His poems were compoſed in honour of ſeveral conquerors, at the Iſthmian, Pythian, Nemeæan, or Olympic games; and give us a notion of the higheſt tranſport and elevation, to which this art can be advanced. His deſigns are ſo vaſt, his ſtyle ſo daring, his thoughts ſo ſtriking and uncommon, that it requires as much attention to read him, as to imitate others. He has often been cenſured as too unbridled and irregular; yet this is not the leaſt of his beauties, ſince an ode is intended more to raiſe our fancy, than to inform our judgment. It is adapted to the fire and majeſty of PINDAR; his imagination is on the wing; he cannot ſtay for words to expreſs himſelf methodically; he uſes the boldeſt ſort of painting; he gives us a general likeneſs of his hero, without finiſhing the features. Thus has he triumphed over the labours of art, and extorted this approbation from mankind, that he alone is the "perfect and unrival'd maſter of the Grecian Lyre." The Athenians pride themſelves to this day in an act of uncommon generoſity, which they performed towards this admired poet. His own countrymen the Thebans having fin'd him in a large ſum of money, for the particular regard he pays every where to Athens in the courſe of his odes, and his neglect of Thebes, that was his native city, the people of Athens honourably diſcharged the fine, and proved themſelves not unworthy of the great eſteem, which PINDAR had conceived for them.

I ſhall proceed in the next place to the dramatic poetry of Athens, and the writers of hiſtory: however as to the former, thou wilt forgive me, if I ſay nothing of it at preſent, ſince it really ſeems ſo interwoven with the frame of the Athenian conſtitution, that an account of it would hardly be ſo proper for the peruſal of a friend, as of a miniſter of ſtate: and as to the latter, I muſt delay the little materials I have collected upon that ſubject, to another letter. But I detain thee too long from the preſence of thy prince, whoſe affection thou haſt ſecur'd by the duty of thy obedience; and whoſe bounty, by the zeal of thy ſervice. Adieu.

From Salamis. C.

LETTER XX.

CLEANDER to SMERDIS the Mage.

THE miſeries of the eaſtern world, whilſt the plague laſted in thoſe parts, much engaged my attention and my pity; and it ſeemed, as if the angry gods had intended by a variety of evils to extirpate the race of mortals from the earth. But ſure their hotteſt vengeance was reſerved for theſe devoted regions, and is now inflicted in the moſt complicated, calamities, that ever have befallen human kind. For that haſty and inviſible deſtroyer, which had ravaged the Perſian empire, begins now to ſpread itſelf through theſe parts, at a time when civil diſcord infeſts the Grecian ſtates, and depopulates their moſt flouriſhing communities, worſe than ever the Barbarian would have done. Who ſhall deſcribe the terrors of the war? the ruins and devaſtations of many large and fruitful diſtricts, which ſuffer not more from hoſtile fury, than from the policy of their own native inhabitants? By them

are the moſt cultivated plains converted into ſolitary deſerts; while the bare neceſſaries, to ſupport a lingering life of miſery, are depoſited in the principal cities only. Beſides the numberleſs hardſhips, which are undergone at Athens, while the whole people of Attica are pent up within the narrow bounds of that ſingle metropolis, with theſe and many more circumſtances of their diſtreſs, the plague, which daily increaſes, muſt, among ſuch a ſwarm of unhappy families, make a far more terrible havock here than it has elſewhere done. Theſe miſeries, though I myſelf by leave of our moſt gracious monarch enjoy a ſecurer ſtation at Salamis, yet fill my mind with that confuſion and medley of paſſions, as if from a rock I beheld the toſſings of a tempeſtuous ocean, and ſaw the ſhattered barks breaking in pieces amidſt the mercileſs ſhelves and waves. But ſay, O moſt venerable SMERDIS, who in thoſe ſequeſter'd ſhades ſacred to everlaſting peace, enjoyeſt the friendly intercourſe of ſuperior beings! O thou, whoſe hallowed ſoul, unruffled by the ſtorm of paſſions, and pure from every guilt, is a manſion for the great OROMASDES; OROMASDES, whoſe calmeſt influence raiſes there no frantick tranſports; no unnatural emotions: ſay, O thou wiſe and good! why is ARIMANIUS permitted to diſturb and invert the order of OROMASDES's works? Whether from his influence, that the mind of man is ſo eaſily perverted, and refuſes to be under the guidance of thoſe principles, which alone could direct it aright. Is it, alas! by the inſtigations of this evil demon, that it turns aſide from the paths of virtue, and neglecting the true ſcheme of rational life, perplexes itſelf with many vain and painful deſires, till it is at length bewildered in an endleſs labyrinth of hurtful purſuits? And is it then, that in conſequence of this depravity ſo far owing to his own malignant influences, that the curſt ARIMANIUS is afterwards permitted to exhauſt his utmoſt malice in puniſhing thoſe by all kind of natural evils, whom he himſelf hath ſeduced

and rendered obnoxious to them? Will the good and gracious OROMASDES ſuffer this to be? Teach me, O thou holy ſage, to ſolve theſe difficulties; inſtruct me better, if it be lawful, in the circumſtances of our nature, and ſhew me how amidſt all theſe intricacies, to maintain the power and juſtify the goodneſs of OROMASDES. Theſe indeed are ſpeculations, which ill befit me, and to which I have little time to attend in my preſent ſituation and employment. But the miſeries, which are daily repreſented to me, poſſeſs my mind with ſuch ſolemn gloom, that I cannot forbear often to indulge the anxious wandrings of my own thoughts therein. It is in thoſe peaceful manſions, where you, O venerable SMERDIS, inhabit, that the mind is at liberty to examine into theſe abſtruſer doctrines; and enlightened by the eternal OROMASDES, may reflect upon itſelf the lively image of his beloved emanation, truth. Happy were thoſe minutes, and I ſhall always rank them among the happieſt of my whole life, which I ſpent with you in divine converſation, when I travelled into Bactria. How tranſported do I call to mind the hours, when I was permitted to mingle among the learned crowd, and lay at your feet, while you preſided in the ſchools of the Magi! But O! how inexpreſſible is the remembrance of ſome few happy times, when with you I wandered in thoſe bliſsful paths, which heavenly contemplation ſeems before all others to have choſen for her peculiar abodes. It grieves me, faithful SMERDIS, that any anxiety ſhould diſcompoſe you amidſt thoſe delightful ſcenes, much more any about my ſafety. A true zeal for the ſervice of the Perſian monarch, to whom I am bound in the ſtricteſt allegiance from the perſonal regards I owe him, has more than any other conſideration attach'd me to his intereſts. Whatever then be ordained my fate, I ſhall endeavour with the greateſt compoſure to ſubmit to it. For that being, whom I have learnt among you to adore with a purer worſhip, that

immaterial and inviſible, call him OROMASDES or whatever other name ſhall beſt expreſs him to us, however clouds and darkneſs at preſent are about him, or at leaſt involve our weaker underſtandings, cannot, I am perſuaded, but be both powerful, juſt, and good; neither will I believe, that he, who ſincerely ſeeks to pleaſe him by acting virtuouſly, will in the event of things be neglected by him. In the midſt of theſe calamities at Athens, the famous HIPPOCRATES is arriv'd there, a man ſo eminent for his excellent ſkill and ſucceſs in phyſick, that the greateſt king thought no price too high to purchaſe him at; a man, whoſe upright integrity, undaunted conſtancy, and love of the Grecian name endears him to the Athenians beyond their greateſt benefactors, as his forementioned excellencies raiſe their eſteem and veneration for him, like as if their god APOLLO or ÆSCULAPIUS was come down among them. And though it were preſumption almoſt in any thing to differ from thee, (and ſure thy zeal for the Perſian glory, and extreme veneration of the great king can never be two much applauded,) yet ſay, O gentle SMERDIS, can ſuch a man deſerve ſo ſevere a cenſure? The refuſal is indeed aſtoniſhing; ſuch wealth, ſuch power, ſuch intereſt with the greateſt monarch of the world, were a bribe almoſt for the ſtricteſt virtue. But HIPPOCRATES can all this withſtand: amazing obſtinacy a Perſian would call it, ſince the ſubjects of the great king have learnt to fall before his throne, and proſtrate themſelves at his footſtool as to the ſhrine of ſome god; and I doubt not but cuſtom has ſo well reconcil'd to them a government, which the Greeks call ſlavery, that they do this with the heartieſt veneration for their ſovereign; and where ſo excellent a prince preſides, this may be perhaps the moſt perfect form of government. But as the genius's and cuſtoms of countries vary, of courſe the manners of men muſt differ; and a diverſity of circumſtances will make that in one inſtance laudable,

which were quite otherwiſe in another. To be born, educated, and converſe in the free ſtates of Greece muſt neceſſarily form the mind to principles of liberty, and ſettle in it very oppoſite notions of what is great and virtuous, to thoſe a Perſian will from his education imbibe. It has done ſo all along while Greece retain'd its priſtine glory; and can there then be a more illuſtrious example of Grecian virtue, can the love of one's country be carried higher, or can inflexible honour and unbiaſs'd greatneſs of ſoul be ſhewn in any inſtance that exceeds this?

From Salamis. L.

LETTER XXI.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER at Salamis. From Saba in Arabia.

LEAVING Babylon we fell down the king's river into the Tigris, the cataracts in this part of it being lately removed at the repreſentation of ſome eminent merchants; and were conducted in one of the royal galleys to the Perſian gulf, and landed upon Arabia the happy at the Portus Itamus, the firſt haven beyond the mountains, which divide that diſtrict from the ſandy deſerts. As ſoon as we came into the Sabæan territories, the whole country ſeem'd one univerſal altar ever breathing forth ſpontaneous incenſe to the heavens. The ſweet effluvia are wafted by the winds, and ſpread a grateful Fragrance for many miles beyond the coaſts. And even the ſhores are covered with caſſia and other odoriferous plants, that perfume the air with a ſtrange variety of healthful and pleaſant ſcents.

The rich product of this happy land brought to my mind the fable of MYRRHA's transformation, and her deteſtable paſſion for her father CINYRAS. The fictions indeed of a poetical fancy are commonly as arbitrary as the ſtories of the vulgar are incredible and ridiculous; and yet many traditionary fables, however wild and improbable they appear, are capable of being traced up to ſome very diſtant origin of truth. And thus, I was not a little ſurprized being told by a native of this country, that there is a people in the fartheſt limits of the other Arabia bordering upon Syria, whoſe deſcent is by the moſt ancient and beſt warranted records of hiſtory, deduced from an unnatural mixture of the ſame kind; they inhabit upon the river Arnon, and their chief city is Areopolis. The country, as we entered it farther and came nearer to Saba, ſtill grew more raviſhing, as well to the eye as the other ſenſes. *We ſaw in our way ſeveral wild aſſes and oſtriches of a large ſize though both* are more common in the deſerts beyond the mountains. The firſt are exceeding fleet, but the way of hunting them is by horſemen placed up and down in different parts of the chaſe; for the creature, after having run ſome time, will ſtop and ſtand ſtill, but regains ground again ſo faſt, that no ſingle horſe can keep up after it. Their fleſh is eſteemed by the luxurious in eating much nicer than that of veniſon. The oſtrich is not to be taken, becauſe when her feet fail her, ſhe can uſe her wings to eſcape. The ſpacious plains, that lie between the mountains, are garniſhed with the freſheſt herbage, and laid out by nature in the moſt beautiful garden, where the fertile ſoil teams with aromatic gums and the party-colour'd bloſſoms of odoriferous ſpices. The ſides of the mountains ſtill exceed the valleys in plenteouſneſs. There riſe the cleareſt ſprings, which, after they have run among

* Xenoph. de Exped. Cyri, Ed. Francof. Lib. prim. p. 256.

the hills, ſupply refreſhing rivers to water the plains beneath. The hanging groves of palm-trees on the ſteepeſt declivities ſhade the delighted traveller, while the impending rays of a more genial ſun ripen the vegetable juices, and amidſt the pregnant minerals digeſt the rich ſeeds of gold. †Saba, the ancient metropolis of this happy land, is ſituated on an eaſy aſcent: the mountains, that ſurround it, riſe and fall in ſhapes the moſt pleaſingly ſtriking and romantic, diſcovering the ſummits of other hills beyond them, which are ſeen in proſpect from the royal town, till the eye is loſt in an undiſtinguiſhed maſs of fainter riſings, blended by their diſtance amidſt tranſparent clouds. I call it the royal town, for a ſort of kingly government ſtill ſubſiſts in it‡; nor have the Arabians of this diſtrict been ever ſubjected to a foreign power, as the Arabians in general are rather friends and allies to the Perſian empire, as they were before to the Aſſyrian, than vaſſals and tributaries to either; though upon ſome occaſions they have courted by preſents the favour of our mighty monarchs. The riches and grandeur of this place beſpeak it to have been the ſeat of many potent princes. The palace, the citadel, and the ruins of a library, ſhew the moſt expenſive ſtate of royal magnificence. The portico's of their publick buildings are overlaid with gold; but the ſplendor of ſome of their private houſes is incredible. A monument is ſtill ſhewn in an ancient temple, where they ſay is repoſed the ſacred duſt of a queen, once the wonder and glory of the Eaſt. A queen, whoſe genius was equal to the higheſt things, and her learning and knowledge proportionate to her genius. It was her thirſt after the endowments of the latter, that induced her to travel into the

† Agatharchidis Periplo, p. 63.

‡ Diod. Sicul. Lib. 2. initio. Herod. Thal. c. 97. ibid. 91. & 7. ibid. Lib. 3. c. 3.

diſtant country of Judæa, with infinite pomp and magnificence, to viſit a king renowned for the greatneſs of his wiſdom, the riches of his kingdom, and the proſperity of his reign. She proved him by hard queſtions, and diſcourſed with him on ſubjects of the moſt refined nature. His wiſdom, his riches, his proſperity, exceeded the reports of fame, and wrapt her in the deepeſt aſtoniſhment. Under her reign Arabia was a powerful and flouriſhing kingdom §; an epoch of its greatneſs more certain than the ancient times they boaſt, of their king's reigning in Babylonia before the days of NINUS. She rul'd with wiſdom and equanimity, beloved by her ſubjects, and regarded by all as their common parent: her court was a college of learned men, where all were generouſly received, and met with ſuitable rewards, who made any uſeful improvements in arts and ſciences, or new diſcoveries in the knowledge of nature. Among other improvements * the Arabians are eſteemed to be ſkilled in augury and ſoothſaying. Whether there is any certainty in this ſcience, it belongs not to me to diſpute. Our great CYRUS is reported to have paid a religious regard to augury. 'Tis not improbable, that as the warmth and pleaſantneſs of the climate will allow them to lie out all the year in the fields, with their flocks and cattle, which in ſeveral parts of this country they are great dealers in, they may have made more obſervations than others, upon the different flights and motions, the various ſounds and voices of the fowls of the air. My ſhort ſtay here, in paſſing through the country, will not permit me to make a ſtrict enquiry into their religious doctrines and ceremonies. ‡ But the chief objects of their worſhip are the ſun and moon, which they name

§ Syncell.

* Cicero, de Divin. Lib. 1. c. 42.

‡ Herod. Thal c. 8. Philoſtorg. in Phot. Strabo, & Theophraſt.

in their language Urotalt and Alilat; and to Urotalt is daily offered frankincenſe and myrrh in his temple at Saba. § They pay likewiſe a religious regard to the ſouls of their moſt eminent lawgivers and benefactors, upon a perſuaſion, which has pretty generally prevailed throughout the world, and is a principle of the philoſophy of the Sabian Magi, that thoſe excellent perſons were benevolent demons, who from a ſuperior happy ſtate deſcended into mortal bodies, and were contented to ſubmit to all the inconveniencies aud evils of human life, for the benefit and advantage of mankind.

Thy letter, CLEANDER, has juſt reached me, in which thou conceiveſt too high an opinion of my parts and improvements. But however incapable I am of anſwering thy expectations, or following thy excellent rules for the direction of my travels, I am glad thou encourageſt me to unboſom to thee ſuch trivial obſervations, as a variety of new objects will naturally ſuggeſt; which to a young traveller, when the fancy is heated, and his thoughts diſtracted with repeated novelties, is next to the pleaſure he took in ſeeing the things themſelves. I rejoice that thou art removed to Salamis, and that our excellent monarch has ſuch a tender regard for his able and faithful miniſters. Adieu. L.

§ Οἵδε δὲ εἶσιν οἱ Βάρβαροι διαφερόντως τιμήσαντες τὰς αὐτῶν νομοθέτας, ψυχὰς γὰρ ἀγαθὰς κατὰ Πλάτωνα καταλιπούσας τὸν ὑπερουράνιον τόπον ὑπομεῖναι ἐλθεῖν εἰς τόνδε τὸν τάρταρον καὶ σῶμα ἀναλαβούσας—ὑπολαμβάνουσι—Βραχμάνες τε σύμπαντες—ἐθεολόγησαν ἀκριβῶς τὰ ἐκείνων. Χαλδαῖοί τε καὶ Ἀράβιοι οἱ κληθέντες Εὐδαίμονες. Clem. Alexan. Strom. Lib. I.

LETTER XXII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

MY laſt letters, noble ſcribe, contained a faithful account of the miſerable ſtate of Athens, under the afflicting circumſtances of a war and peſtilence united to diſtreſs them. The poſture of their affairs, ſince I wrote, has received no alteration, but what encreaſes their diſcontent, and adds to their misfortunes. Beſides the continuance of the plague, the operations of this ſummer's campaign were not much in their favour. PERICLES has been forced to raiſe the ſiege of Epidaurus, and is returned home with his ſquadron, after waſting the coaſts of Peloponneſus, which is the only damage their enemies have received from this expedition. News is ſince come, that the ſiege of Potidæa goes on very ſlowly, the army before that place being much weakened, as well by the ſallies of the garriſon, as by the plague, which a late reinforcement from Athens brought among them. The Peloponneſian army did not ſtay long in the territories of Attica; for hearing that PERICLES was ravaging their country, and being apprehenſive of infection from the plague, they retired home, and are now diſperſed into their reſpective cities. The Lacedæmonians are preparing to invade the iſland Zacynthus. The party oppoſite to PERICLES take advantage of his ill ſucceſs at Epidaurus, to incenſe the people againſt him, who expected he would have made their domeſtic grievances more tolerable, by extending their power and reputation abroad. CLEON accuſes him in every aſſembly, in his inſolent and declamatory harangues, as the ſole cauſe of the miſeries of

Greece. He charges him with having involved his country in an expenſive war, purely for his own intereſt, and the preſervation of his own authority; aud then waſting the public treaſure in fruitleſs expeditions, and ſuffering their enemies to inſult them at their gates, through cowardice and imprudence in the conduct of it. Another piece of ſlander is ſpread about, relating to a decree of the Athenians againſt Megara, which prohibits all commerce between the two cities, makes it capital for any native of Megara to be ſeen in the dominions of Athens, and enjoins the generals of the republic, to make an annual invaſion of their territories. This ſevere decree the Lacedæmonians demanded to have reverſed; which PERICLES ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, recriminating upon the Megareans for harbouring their revolted ſlaves, and murdering an Athenian herald. However, it is confidently affirmed here, that he promoted this affair with no other view, than to revenge an inſult put upon his miſtreſs ASPASIA by ſome young Megareans, who ſtole away two of her ſlaves. PERICLES and his friends juſtify his meaſures at large, againſt all theſe accuſations. They repreſent, "that whoever conſiders the ſituation of "affairs in Greece, muſt be convinced, that the war "wanted no incendiary to ſet it on foot, ſince it owes its "riſe to a very natural cauſe, the jealouſies of Lacedæmon "and Peloponneſus at the grandeur of Athens; particularly "of the former, as they thought it had riſen upon the "ruins of theirs; that the Athenians had paid more regard "even to the literal ſenſe of treaties than their enemies, "who, before the war broke out, required them to ſatisfy "the complaints of the Corinthians and Megareans without "farther debate; though it was expreſsly ſtipulated by an "article of the laſt treaty between the Grecian ſtates, that "all controverſies ſhould be referred to arbitrators, to be "determined in an amicable way, before either party had "recourſe to arms. That many of the Lacedæmonians

" demands, though not in themſelves unjuſt, were yet " rendered improper to be granted, by the imperious man- " ner in which they were urged; and that a tame and ready " ſubmiſſion to them would have been looked upon as a " tacit confeſſion, in the Athenians, of weakneſs and pu- " ſillanimity. They vindicate the management of the " war, by laying it down as a clear maxim, that every " ſtate ſhould exert its natural ſtrength in carrying one on; " and that the Athenian ſuperiority in a naval force makes " it neceſſary to form ſuch a plan of operations, as is moſt " ſuitable to the ſea ſervice. That the Peloponneſian inva- " ſion of Attica can never be of long duration, becauſe the " country furniſhes no ſubſiſtence for the forces; and it " would be a raſh attempt to beſiege ſo ſtrong and well gar- " riſoned a city as Athens. That in the mean time their " coaſts are expoſed, their commerce ruined, and their " ſquadrons not able to reſiſt thoſe of the Athenians."

This is the ſum of the charge on one hand, and the defence on the other. Thoſe, who exert themſelves with moſt addreſs, in behalf of PERICLES, are his nephew ALCIBIADES, a young man of an aſpiring diſpoſition, and his old friend EPHIALTES the orator. CLEON, HYPERBOLUS, and TOLMIDES, men of low birth, but ſome popular talents, are the great oppoſers of his adminiſtration. And though I am far from thinking it faultleſs, yet in the preſent diſpute, I believe moſt argument will be found on his ſide, and the greateſt variety of ſcandal, on that of his adverſaries. However, things here are in a very fluctuating condition. At preſent the people ſhew themſelves ſo uneaſy at the continuance of the plague and the war together, that in the laſt aſſembly, ambaſſadors were ſent to Lacedæmon, to declare that they were ready to accept peace on any reaſonable conditions. But I hear the laſt letters from thence, give no hopes of obtaining it. I ſhall conclude this diſpatch

with mentioning, that HIPPOCRATES of Cos was ordered, by a late decree, to be initiated in the ſacred myſteries, to be preſented with a crown of gold, to enjoy all the privileges of an Athenian citizen, and to be maintained at the public charge for the reſt of his life.

Such, potent miniſter, are the rewards of virtue amongſt the Grecians; ſuch the incitements to deſpiſe danger in the ſervice of their country! A crown, beſtowed by the free voice of the ſtate; a ſtatue, erected to their honour; or a mark of reſpect, ſhewn to their poſterity, are ſufficient recompences for the moſt illuſtrious actions, and allowed to none but perſons of diſtinguiſhed merits. Whilſt they can attain theſe, they deſpiſe the treaſures of the Eaſt, and account it more honourable to be a native of Athens or Sparta, though upon the level with their fellow citizens, than a ſatrap of Perſia, who has the ineſtimable diſtinction of approaching the ſplendid throne of the lord of Aſia.

From Salamis. P.

LETTER XXIII.

ARTAPHERNES to CLEANDER. From the foreſt of Nyſa, near Ecbatana.

I ſhould own myſelf unworthy of the correſpondence, you begun laſt year in the hurry of your firſt arrival at Athens, if the diſordered ſtate of the province of Lydia, which was then added by the king's goodneſs, to my former government of Sardis, did not furniſh me with a ſufficient excuſe.

The corruptions and irregularities, which, under the ſatrap my predeceſſor, had crept into the military and civil affairs of the province, as the management of the forces, the revenue, and the judicial proceedings, required not only an early, but in many caſes a ſevere correction. I was obliged to remove ſeveral of the chief officers, to puniſh others as they deſerved, and to prefer thoſe, who, for their abilities and integrity, were before neglected and diſgraced. But as the moſt neceſſary reformation ſeldom fails of making the promoter of it unpopular, complaints were made againſt me at court by the perſons removed, which, at the earneſt requeſt of their friends, occaſioned a particular order to the inſpectors, who are ſent annually through the provinces of the empire, to examine the conduct of the governors, that they ſhould make a ſtrict enquiry into mine. After a long and exact examination, I was declared to have acted, not only with impartial juſtice, but with the greateſt regard to the honour of the empire, and the ſervice of the king. And ſoon after the commiſſioners had made their report, I received a letter of thanks and ap-

probation, ſigned with the king's own ſignet, beſides a rich Median veſt, a farther proof of the royal favour. The affairs of Lydia being now quiet, and proceeding in a regular well ordered courſe, I took a journey this ſummer to viſit my friends at Ecbatana, and write to you from MEGABYZUS's Palace in the foreſt of Nyſa; where that great man entertains his friends with that humanity and politeneſs, which are ſo natural to him. HYDASPES, GOBRYAS, and INTAPHERNES, the captain of the Immortals, lay aſide, now they are here, the manners of the court, and the formalities of their offices; and converſe upon the terms of freedom without levity, and friendſhip without affected reſerves. However, that we may not quite forget our diſtinct employments, and think ourſelves transformed into Bactrian Magi, it frequently happens, that the miniſter is ſummoned to council, the ſecretary returns to his office, the Chamberlain to his ſtation in the palace, the commander to his quarters; and all of us attend the king to the chace, which, you know, is the uſual diverſion of the court. At the laſt hunting match on mount Orontes, a fierce tiger leaped out of a cloſe thicket, and ſprung forwards towards the king, who was in the utmoſt danger. ARTYPHIUS, the ſon of MEGABYZUS, ſtepped immediately before him, and with one ſtroke of his javelin laid the furious beaſt dead upon the ſpot. Nor was our generous lord unmindful of ſo ſignal an inſtance of courage and reſolution; for he preſented his deliverer with a gold chain, worth 1000 darics, beſides adding the moſt obliging expreſſions of praiſe and eſteem. This accident has been the more talked of, as the father was formerly diſgraced for the very ſame thing, that now procures rewards to the ſon. But the caſe of the former gave riſe to an edict, declaring it lawful to ſtrike a beaſt before the king had flung his dart, which was before looked upon as the higheſt inſtance of diſreſpect. The Caduſians have, from their

mountainous country, made an incurſion upon the northern parts of Media, taken a rich booty, and defeated the ſatrap, who attempted to oppoſe their ravages. A body of troops lately marched towards thoſe frontiers, and ARTYPHIUS ſet out to-day with a ſtronger detachment, to reinforce them. His late brave action furthered not a little his advancement to be general in this expedition; and as he is a young man of extraordinary ſkill and valour, it is not doubted, but that he will ſoon reduce theſe Barbarians. I think you will know all the court news, when I have told you, that BAGORAZES, the eunuch, is made cup-bearer. HYDASPES, the chamberlain, communicated your laſt letter to the company here, which gave them great entertainment. They are only concerned, that Perſia cannot afford materials of equal value for an anſwer. Your friends think ſhortly of uſing your aſſiſtance in the purchaſe of Grecian books and curioſities. Such commiſſions will not be the leaſt troubleſome part of your employment. Your repeated acknowledgments for the good offices I did you with the Perſian miniſters were quite unneceſſary; it is a ſufficient return, that you anſwer their higheſt expectations. Farewell. P.

LETTER XXIV.

MEGABYZUS to CLEANDER. From Ecbatanta.

THOUGH GOBRYAS has already acquainted thee, with what approbation thy accounts of the affairs of Greece are received, and in his laſt diſpatch had orders to open to thee the plan, on which we determine to proceed, in relation to theſe Grecian quarrels, and the reaſons on which we formed it; yet I by no means think myſelf diſpenſed from acknowledging thy letters, or expreſſing, as well the particular ſatisfaction they have given me, as the hopes I conceive, that thy paſt ſervices will produce others of ſtill greater value and importance. The plague, that rages at Athens, makes us a little impatient to know, whether it will produce an alteration in their meaſures; for affairs in a popular conſtitution are always ſo fluctuating and unſteady, that any preſent inconvenience or misfortune turns the courſe of their politics, and even ſhakes the foundations of their government. At the ſame time, though the Athenians have already offered peace, I much queſtion, whether the Lacedæmonians will accept it, without impoſing conditions the moſt diſadvantageous to the commerce and greatneſs of the former; perhaps obliging them to leſſen the number of their ſhips, or give up the protection of the moſt uſeful of their allies. But if ever the Athenians ſubmit to theſe terms, they will loſe the two chief ſources of their power and wealth, and be reduced to the ſame inconſiderable ſtate, from whence they were raiſed, within my memory, by the judgment and valour of THEMISTOCLES.

Nor will it be for the intereſt of Perſia, that either Lacedæmon or Athens ſhould obtain the ſuperiority over the reſt of Greece, or be able to influence their counſels. In that caſe, the ruling commonwealth would be always ready and able to undertake ſome united enterprize againſt Perſia, invade the fertile provinces of Aſia Minor, waſte our coaſts, encourage the diſaffection of our governors, always prepared, through fear of puniſhment for their oppreſſions, to ſhake off their obedience, and erect the provinces entruſted to their care into independent principalities. But I hope for better things; that the ſpirit of our great CYRUS, which watches over the mighty empire he ſo gloriouſly founded, will preſerve the throne of his poſterity from ſuch inſults; that the peace we continue to enjoy, will help us to expel every noxious humour or latent venom of fraud, rapine, and corruption, from the various parts of our government; that a ſtrict exerciſe of military diſcipline may reſtore to us thoſe hardy troops, which raviſhed the empire of the Eaſt from the Aſſyrians, and made us maſters of the wealth and pompous ſtructures of Ægypt; and that a regular and ſteady purſuit of well-grounded counſels may enable us to balance the diviſions of Greece, and preſerve ſuch an equality of power amongſt its different ſtates, as to turn the ſcale effectually whenever we interpoſe.

The Peloponneſian ambaſſadors, with ARISTÆUS of Corinth at their head, are already on their way towards Thrace, where they are ordered to execute a commiſſion with SITALCES and from thence repair to the court of our great monarch. We ſhall not be in haſte to diſpatch them, but under pretence of examining the cauſes of their quarrel with Athens, and the motives they may offer to engage us in their alliance, detain them, till we ſee, whether the Athenians will follow them in applying for our aſſiſtance, or till the fortune of the war determines us, which part it is moſt advan-

tageous to Perſia to ſupport. In the mean time, continue to enquire, whether the Athenians are informed of this embaſſy, and ſend us ſpeedy advice, what reſolutions they take upon it, by which it will be very neceſſary for us to regulate our behaviour. Our curioſity is not leſs raiſed to know, how PERICLES ſtands his ground in this difficult ſituation. I cannot think they have any one conſiderable enough, either for abilities or authority, to ſucceed him in the chief management of their affairs. Be aſſured, CLEANDER, that however theſe fickle republics, founded in diſcord and mutability, change their favourites, becauſe the ſhining luſtre of their great qualities expoſe them to the malicious efforts of popular envy, the court of Perſia follows no ſuch maxim; the unjuſt cuſtom of oſtraciſm is not yet eſtabliſhed here. Thy merits, far from giving umbrage, ſecure to thee the protection of thy prince and the eſteem of his miniſters; far from obſtructing thy advancement, or rendering thee liable to diſgrace, are the ſureſt and moſt honourable methods of furthering thy progreſs in the one, and preſerving thee from any danger of the other. Adieu.

P.

LETTER XXV.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER. From Thebes in Ægypt.

AFTER we had traverſed Arabia, and ſeen in our way the ſepulchre of Iſis and Oſiris at Nyſa, the pillars of which are inſcribed in the ſacred Ægyptian letters, we paſſed the Idumæan gulf, and our tour lay ſtrait for No-Ammon. This is the ancient Thebes of Ægypt, celebrated in the writings of the Grecian HOMER. The city is in circuit 140 ſtadia, but anciently took in a much greater compaſs; and both for the magnificence of its buildings, as well as the wealth contained within its walls, was eſteemed not only the moſt beautiful and noble one of Ægypt, but of the whole world. From the long records of the Theban dynaſty, it appears to have been founded in the earlieſt times. *It was taken by ſurprize, and firſt pillaged by the Carthaginians, when the riſing greatneſs of their republic began firſt to annoy the neighbouring ſtates. It was afterwards invaded by the Aſſyrian, but ſuffered moſt from the madneſs of CAMBYSES, when he returned from his Æthiopian expedition. It was then, that ancient temple here, the largeſt and richeſt of the four, ſo admirable for its beauty and greatneſs, was ſtript of its gold, ivory, and precious ſtones. However, the fabrick is left ſtanding, and its circuit is 13 ſtadia, 45 cubits the height, with a wall 24 feet broad. There are about the city innumerable coloſſus's and obeliſks of one entire ſtone; and theſe form, on every ſide of this famous capital, thoſe ſtately

*Hanc inter exordia pandentis ſe late Carthaginis improviſo exercitu duces oppreſſere Pœnorum.

Ammi. Marcell. l. 17.

avenues, which add ſo much to its apparent largeneſs. The many quarries of marble and porphyry, of which the upper Ægypt is full to the ſouth, had furniſhed them with materials; nor can we wonder that they found hands to raiſe ſuch ſtupendous works, when we are told, that the ancient kings of Thebes carried their conqueſts as far as Scythia, Bactria, and India. The city extends for a great length on both ſides the Nile; and in ancient times an hundred ſtables lay along the river, on the Lybian ſide, from Thebes to Memphis, each of which would contain 200 horſes, which were always ready for the ſervice of the ſtate and the quick diſpatches of public couriers; and many of theſe remain to this day very entire.

Among the principal wonders of Ægypt is always ranked the vocal ſtatue of MEMNON, * which is of a ſtone called the Biſaltes, of the hardneſs and colour of iron. Half of it from the head to the middle was broke off by CAMBYSES; what remains is in a ſitting poſture, the feet and legs cloſed together. The ſound it utters at ſun riſing reſembles that of the ſtrings of a lyre, that is cracked and out of tune: the ſound I am witneſs to, but cannot be ſure, whether it came from the baſe, or the ſtatue, or from any by-ſtander. † Near this place are concealed under ground the moſt venerable remains of Ægyptian antiquity, I mean ‡ the pillars of HERMES. It was with much ſolicitation and difficulty I gained admittance to the place, where they were ſhewn, and by a particular favour of the prieſts, for which I am indebted to PHARNUCES, the governor. Within the encloſure of an ancient edifice, a repoſitory of the ſacred books and other monuments

* Plin. l. 37. c. 7. Pauſan. Att. p. 78. Philoſtr. l. 6. c. 3.

† Thebis trans Nilum ad Συριγγας quas vocant ſtatua eſt reſonans. Pauſ. Att. p. 78.

‡ Syncell. p. 40. b. Ammian. Marcell. l. 22. p. 232.

you deſcend a great depth by rough and craggy ſteps in the rock; the place ſeems to have been formerly dug into as a quarry. At the bottom a large gap opens before you, through which I was conducted into ſeveral dark chambers by perplext winding paſſages, till at laſt I diſcovered a diſtant glimmering light, which directed me through a long narrow avenue, the farther end of which opened into a ſpacious cave. The ſtrange ſolemnity of the place muſt ſtrike every one, that enters it, with a religious horror; and is the moſt proper to work you up into that frame of mind, in which you will receive, with the moſt awful reverence and aſſent, whatever the prieſt, who attends you, is pleaſed to reveal concerning the wonderful monuments depoſited therein. Towards the farther end of the cave, or within the inmoſt receſs of ſome prodigious caverns, that run beyond it, you hear, as it were a great way off, a noiſe reſembling the diſtant roarings of the ſea, and ſometimes like the fall of waters, daſhing againſt rocks with great impetuoſity. The noiſe is ſuppoſed to be ſo ſtunning and frightful, if you approach it, that few, they ſay, are inquiſitive enough, to ſearch far into thoſe myſterious ſportings of nature. It put me in mind of thoſe ‖ caverns of the Magi, under the mountains of my native Perſia, where, by a ſtrange reverberation of ſounds in thoſe hollow cavities, at firſt you hear a confuſed murmur, like the noiſe of numerous armies at the onſet of the battle; as you proceed farther, the noiſe thickens upon you as in the heat of an engagement; at laſt it reſembles the ſhouts and acclamations of a victory. The arrangement of the lamps, in this cave, is exceeding beautiful. There are taper pillars from the ground to the height of the vault, probably left in that faſhion, when part of the natural rock was excavated, and the lamps hang about them from the bottom to the top. Surrounded with theſe pillars of lamps are each of thoſe venerable co-

‖ Clemens Alexand. Strom. lib. 6.

lumns, which I am now to ſpeak of, inſcribed in the hieroglyphical letters with the primæval myſteries of the Ægyptian learning. They are ſaid to have been placed here by * HERMES TRISMEGISTUS, a ſage as highly reverenced amongſt the Ægyptians, as ZOROASTER is with us. †To him they aſcribe the contrivance of letters, and the firſt forming of articulate ſounds, and every other invention of chief uſe to human life. They will not ſettle his antiquity; only told me, that theſe pillars had outſtood the ſtrongeſt ſhocks of nature, and remained firm and entire, when an univerſal deluge laid waſte and ſhatter'd this terraqueous globe. The ſame perſon I obſerve, they generally call THOTH, or ATHOTHES. To this MERCURY is attributed the famous computation of 36,525 years, in which period of time he ſuppoſed the ſeveral heavenly bodies did exactly go through all the relations, which they could have in their motions, to one another, and came round to the ſame point, from which all their courſes began; and upon theſe pillars, ſay the prieſts, he has given a perfect demonſtration of it. To theſe their hiſtorians have recourſe, for the ancient annals of this country. From theſe pillars, and the ſacred books, they maintain, that all the philoſophy and learning of the world has been derived. From theſe the ancient ORPHEUS borrowed his celebrated ſyſtem of the origin of things. To theſe PYTHAGORAS and THALES were indebted for thoſe diſcoveries, which have eſtabliſhed their reputation to all ſucceeding ages. It was my good luck to be here at a time, when a great ſacrifice and luſtration to the Myſterious HERMES, or MERCURY, was to be ſolemnized within the bowels of this ſtupendous cave, which is done once in fifty years; at which time only it is granted, and that through a particular mark of favour and courteſy, to ſome ſtranger of rank and diſtinction, to be admitted within theſe hallowed caverns. At other

* Or rather Mer-Cheres Triſmegiſtus. † Diod. Sic. lib. 1.

times only the tedious diſcipline and preparations, which PYTHAGORAS for thirty years underwent, to be initiated into their myſteries, would qualify one to be admitted to the ſacred monuments.

The city takes its ancient name from the god AMMUN, whom the Greeks call JUPITER. He is the ſame with SATURN, or CHRONUS, the father of OSIRIS. From his other names, which are * THAMUS and CHAMUS, the whole land ſtill retains at Thebes the name of † Chemia. He is repreſented with the face of a ram; and in Thebais the killing of that ſpecies of animals would be puniſhed as a moſt heinous and capital offence, which may be done but one day in the year, in the feſtivals of their god; and then a ſingle ram is ſlain, ‡ and his ſkin flea'd off to be hung upon the ſtatue of AMMUN; and the image of HERCULES muſt be brought and ſet before it, becauſe it is ſaid the god appeared in that manner to HERCULES, upon his earneſt and preſſing inſtances to ſee him. The carcaſe of the ram is afterwards beaten by all that attend at the ſolemnity, and then buried in one of the ſacred repoſitories.

§ It is a tradition here, that the firſt prieſteſſes of the Libyan oracle of JUPITER AMMUN, and of the Dodonæan oracle in Greece, were taken away, and ſold by the Phœnicians into thoſe countries out of Thebes.

* Plato in Phœdro. Βασιλέως τότε ὅλης Αἰγύπτου ὅλης Θαμοῦς περὶ τὴν μεγάλην πόλιν τοῦ ἄνω τόπου, ὃν οἱ Ελληνες Αἰγυπτίας Θήβας καλοῦσι, καὶ τὸν θεὸν Αμμωνα. p. 1240. b.

† Εἰ τὸν Αἴγυπτον Χημία καλοῦσιν. Plutar. de Iſide.

‡ Herod. Euterp. 42.

§ Herod Euterp. 54, 55.

I ſhall ſtay here ſome time, from whence I may entertain you with freſh varieties, if my report of things is in any ſort intereſting. Adieu.

L.

LETTER XXVI.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS. From Salamis.

SINCE my laſt diſpatch, noble ſcribe, the ſtate of Athens has continued in a perpetual ferment. The jars and cabals of oppoſite factions, the calamities of the plague, the weight and charge of the war, a general diſlike of the preſent meaſures, and no unanimity in a ſteady purſuit of others, have by turns occaſioned the utmoſt perplexity in the counſels, and impatience in the tempers of this people.

The ambaſſadors they had ſent to Lacedæmon declared at their return, that peace could be obtained on no terms, but ſuch as were abſolutely diſadvantageous and unreaſonable. When the preſent condition of their affairs was debated in an extraordinary aſſembly, PERICLES aroſe, and with a reſolution not to be daunted by the clamours of his adverſaries, and a ſtrength of argument which they were unable to confute, endeavoured to ſoften the irritated minds of the people, raiſe their drooping ſpirits, and turn their reſentment from himſelf upon the Lacedæmonians. He repreſented to them, "that "the reaſons, which induced them to enter into this war, "were ſtill the ſame, and received no alteration from the "croſs accidents of fortune; which it was impoſſible for "the moſt refined human prudence to foreſee or prevent. "That the misfortunes of particulars ought not to make them

" neglect the common intereſt of the whole, which could " not be ſecured, but by preſerving their bravery and inde- " pendence. That whilſt they continued maſters of the ſea, " the ravages of their lands, or the loſs of their country ſeats, " were not to be regarded; theſe might eaſily be recovered: " but if they ſuffered their ſpirits to ſink, and deſpaired of " ſucceſs, they would not only be deprived of ſuch orna- " mental advantages, but of the moſt eſſential one of all, in " which conſiſted the very being of their republic, their li- " berty. Therefore (concluded he) leave off blaming your " governors for an event, that ſeems inflicted by the hand " of providence; ſince evils from heaven are to be patiently " ſubmitted to, thoſe from men to be valiantly oppoſed. " Rouze up, Athenians, your ancient reſolution and gene- " roſity; ſend no more heralds to the Lacedæmonians, and " ſhew yourſelves as well worthy as able to maintain your " pretenſions of being at the head of Greece." I have given this ſhort account of PERICLES's ſpeech, that the Perſian miniſters might have an idea, both of the manner of addreſ- ſing the people in theſe democratical governments, and of that particular force and vivacity, which diſtinguiſh the eloquence of this great ſtateſman. He obtained part of what he con- tended for; the aſſembly reſolved, that no more overtures of peace ſhould be made to the allies; but at the ſame time, in the height of their warmth and violence, deprived him of his command, and fined him 50 talents, upon the motion of CLEON and SIMMIAS. Thus PERICLES, who has ſo long diſpoſed, almoſt abſolutely, of the treaſures, forces, and ho- nours of Athens, is reduced by a ſingle vote to the condi- tion of a private citizen; undiſtinguiſhed by any, except his former reputation and eminent abilities, which ſpread ſuch a luſtre round him, that no artful colouring of his adverſaries can ever deface. Nay, perhaps to a philoſophic eye he ap- pears greater in his diſgrace, which he bears with temper, than adorned with all the glory of external grandeur and dig-

nity. The death of ſeveral of his friends and chief confidents in buſineſs, and the diviſions occaſioned in his family, through the extravagance of his ſon XANTIPPUS, add no ſmall preſſure to his misfortunes.

As ſoon as theſe animoſities begin to cool, I ſhall not fail to ſend advice, in what hands the adminiſtration ſeems moſt likely to be lodged; whether in a ſet of new favourites, or (as ſeveral imagine) in thoſe of the old one. I come now to anſwer the particular direction thou gaveſt me concerning the Peloponneſian embaſſy, which has been ſince repeated by MEGABYZUS; and I am ſorry my information muſt prove diſagreeable, for the Athenians are now acquainted with the deſign, on which the ambaſſadors are ſent to SITALCES and our great maſter, and the route they are to take. Yeſterday the ſenate diſpatched a courier, with private orders to their miniſters at the court of SITALCES; and though the contents of them are not publickly known, and kept as ſecret as any thing can be in a popular government, I have no room to doubt, that they contain a demand, that the Peloponneſian ambaſſadors ſhould be put into their hands; in which requeſt they expect to be aſſiſted by SADOCUS, the ſon of the Thracian prince, who was laſt year made a citizen of Athens. ARISTEUS, the chief of the embaſſy, is particularly aimed at: it appears, that the revolt of Potidea, and the troubles in Thrace, are owing to his contrivance. Might I preſume to adviſe the Perſian miniſtry, if this letter arrives in time, ſome perſon of addreſs and ſkill in the Thracian manners ſhould be ſent, on the part of the king, to SITALCES, and endeavour, either by menaces or bribes, to prevent ſo baſe a compliance. But thou muſt receive advice of the iſſue of this matter much ſooner from PHARNABAZUS, the governor of the Helleſpont, than from hence. I cannot however help expreſſing my concern for the ſafety of theſe ambaſſadors. The Athenians, in their preſent head-ſtrong ungovernable

diſpoſition, and the warm reſentment they expreſs againſt the Lacedæmonians, are not likely to pay much regard to their ſacred rights.

I ſhall take the firſt opportunity of removing to Athens, whenever it can be done without danger of infection from the plague. In the mean time, illuſtrious ſatrap, permit me to return my humbleſt acknowledgements for the honour of the confidence thou repoſeſt in me; unworthy as I am to partake in the councils of Perſia, I will at leaſt make no ill uſe of thoſe entruſted to my ſecrecy, but punctually obſerving the orders I receive, and regulating my own conduct by the rules they preſcribe, endeavour to ſupply all deficiencies in knowledge and experience, with the zeal and integrity of my ſervice. P.

LETTER XXVII.

CLEANDER to ORSAMES. From Salamis.

I Would endeavour, noble ſatrap, to equal, if not the agreeable and lively ſtile, which embelliſhes thy letters, at leaſt that judicious choice of materials in them, which joins ſo artfully inſtruction to ornament; and I imagine, that a ſhort ſurvey of the preſent ſtate of Grecian philoſophy will not be an unentertaining ſpeculation to one of thy improved and extenſive curioſity. Beſides the general uſe of an enquiry which lays before us a kind of hiſtory of human reaſon, of the diſcoveries it is capable of making, the exalted heights to which it can attain, and the gradual and regular ſteps, by which it proceeds in the ſearch of uſeful truth, I pleaſe myſelf with thinking, that a particular advantage, with regard to

thee, will attend my diſcuſſing this ſubject. For as Ægypt may be called the parent ſoil of ſcience, from whence the Greek philoſophers tranſplanted many doctrines taught in the colleges of the prieſts, to cultivate them afterwards in their own ſchools; it is probable, that a view of the chief tenets maintained in the latter will further thy enquiries into the more myſterious learning of the former, which muſt reciprocally throw in light upon ſome obſcurities in the conduct and notions of thoſe, who by their long ſtay in Ægypt received no ſmall tincture of the manners of their inſtructors. The Greek philoſophy is at preſent divided into two principal ſects, the Ionic, which was founded by THALES the Mileſian, and the Italic, which owes its riſe to PYTHAGORAS. THALES was born in the 35th olympiad, and is remarkable for being the firſt Grecian, who taught a regular ſyſtem of philoſophy, and left a ſucceſſion of diſciples behind him to eſtabliſh and maintain it. In the earlier part of his life he travelled into Ægypt, and during a reſidence of ſeveral years there applied himſelf with ſuch genius and induſtry to the ſciences, under the direction of the prieſts, that he became able at laſt even to inſtruct his maſters; and, it is ſaid, ſhewed them how to meaſure the height of the pyramids. He was afterwards employed in the ſervice of CRŒSUS, king of Lydia; and contrived to make the river Halys fordable for the army of that prince, by drawing off the water into trenches. On his return to Greece, he lived in a learned retirement, dividing his time between the culture of his favourite ſtudies, geometry and aſtronomy, and the inſtruction of his followers, who held him in the utmoſt veneration. He has left ſeveral moral precepts on record; but is moſt celebrated for his knowledge of nature. He taught, that water was the principle, out of which the ſupreme being created all things; that the univerſe is filled with inviſible ſpirits, who inſpect the actions of men; that the earth is ſituated in the middle of the world, and moves round its own center. He was the firſt among

the Greeks, who calculated eclipſes of the ſun and moon, and made obſervations on the motions of the celeſtial bodies. It is owing to him, that thoſe wonderful phænomena, which by the ignorant and ſuperſtitious are looked upon as omens of approaching calamity and tokens of the divine wrath, appear to the philoſophic eye as the ſimple and regular operations of beneficent and various nature; a diſcovery, which alone ought to recommend his name to the eſteem of poſterity. He died in the ninety-ſecond year of his age, whilſt he was preſent at the Olympic games, and ANAXIMANDER ſucceeded him in the Ionic ſchool. There is little known of this philoſopher, except that in ſome points he did not adhere to the doctrine of his maſter; particularly he held, that there was nothing in the univerſe, but an immenſe matter endowed with an infinite motion; and that in the fruitful boſom of the immenſe matter, every thing was produced by an eternal revolution of forms. By eſtabliſhing this ſyſtem, he excluded, at leaſt tacitly, the exiſtence of a ſupreme intelligent firſt cauſe. ANAXIMENES, his ſucceſſor, aſcribed the origin of all things to the air, and exerted his mechanical ſkill in the invention of a ſun-dial, which was firſt ſet up at Lacedæmon, to the no ſmall admiration of that warlike but unpoliſhed people. The ſchool of THALES was tranſported by ANAXAGORAS from Miletus, where till his time it had flouriſhed, to Athens, as a more conſpicuous theatre for his talents to diſplay themſelves in. This philoſopher was of a noble Family in Ionia; but renounced all pretenſions to a ſhare in the government of his country, and the inheritance of a conſiderable eſtate, in order to apply himſelf with leſs interruption to the ſtudy of wiſdom and the ſearch of truth. Whilſt he reſided at Athens, he had the honour of reckoning PERICLES amongſt his diſciples; and it is generally believed, that the ſtateſman owes no ſmall part of his political, as well as natural knowledge, to the lectures of the ſpeculative ſage. The enemies of the former, unable to ruin his credit with the

people, reſolved to attack him in the perſons of his friends, and accuſed ANAXAGORAS of degrading the ſun from the number of the gods, by defining it to be a maſs of fiery matter. The Athenians, who, by an odd contradiction, expreſs frequently a warm zeal for the honour of their deities, when injured, as they imagine, by the philoſophers, though they ſuffer them to be expoſed with the low buffoonery of the comic poets, condemned him to death; but he avoided the ſentence, by retiring to Lampſacus, where he died ſoon after. His diſciples erected two altars to his memory, and dedicated the one to the eternal mind, and the other to truth.

ANAXAGORAS always declared himſelf againſt the notion of the world's being formed by chance, and attributed the order and life, which are obſervable in it, to the direction of an infinitely wiſe and powerful mind. He held, that there is no vacuum in nature; that every body is diviſible in infinitum, and compoſed of little particles of a ſimilar nature, as blood, for inſtance, of particles of blood, water of particles of water, &c. But I need not tire thy patience, with enlarging further on the lives and tenets of the philoſophers of this ſect: what I have already ſaid is ſufficient to give thee a tolerable idea of them; and thou haſt judgment enough to perceive, that many of their opinions being only founded on the probable aſſertions of ſyſtem, inſtead of proofs drawn from nature herſelf, muſt be left for confirmation, or rejection, to the more accurate enquiries of future ages. I ſhall only add, that the Ionic ſchool under ARCHELAUS, its preſent chief, has produced a diſciple, who ſeems likely to eclipſe the fame, not only of his maſter, but of every philoſopher, who has yet ariſen in Greece. His name is SOCRATES, and he applies himſelf wholly to the moral part of philoſophy, neglecting the natural, as a ſcience too fanciful and uncertain.

I muſt refer thee to another letter, for an account of the Italic ſect, and of PYTHAGORAS, its great founder, ſince this is already ſwelled to a greater length than I intended it ſhould. If I indulge too far the honour thou haſt granted me of thy correſpondence, be perſuaded, generous ORSAMES, that it is not owing to any impertinent affectation of informing thee, or any want of reſpect to thy quality, but to that early taſte I perceive in thee for uſeful literature, and my ardent deſire to ſhare in that rational plan of education, which thou haſt laid down, of blending the elegant accompliſhments of Grecian arts with the manly ſeverities of the ancient diſcipline of Perſia. Adieu.

P.

LETTER XXVIII.

GOBRYAS to CLEANDER. From Ecbatana.

THE news of PERICLES's removal from public buſineſs gave me no great ſurprize. I know how precarious great honours are, and wonder moſt, that he has ſo long maintained an authority, which the envious great and the lawleſs multitude have agreed to call tyrannical. The Greeks continue to anſwer the prayer of XERXES, by diſgracing the moſt worthy citizens; and I wiſh the reſentment of PERICLES would throw him into the intereſts of Perſia, where he would be received with no leſs honour, than his great predeceſſor THEMISTOCLES.

The king ſent to intercede with SITALCES, that the Peloponneſian ambaſſadors might proceed to this court; but they were already delivered up to the Athenians, at the re-

queſt of his ſon SADOCUS, who has requited, by an act of treachery, the honour they did him laſt year of making him free of Athens. He may wiſh hereafter, that ſo trifling a privilege had given place, to the opportunity of doing a grateful act to the lord of Aſia.

I am under no leſs apprehenſion than yourſelf for the lives of thoſe men, at a time when the ſtates are ſo exaſperated againſt each other. It might be well to inſinuate, that violent meaſures would confirm ARTAXERXES the enemy of Athens, already ſufficiently irritated by their conduct. The ambaſſadors deſigned for Perſia are indeed Peloponneſians, and they may plead the reaſonableneſs of taking all advantages of an enemy; yet prudence and their misfortunes might teach them, that they have no need of a new and more powerful one. At ſuch a juncture, if they had receded a little from their pretenſions, the courteſy would not have been miſplaced; for we truſt, that it is already in the hands of our monarch to determine the ſucceſs to either party, and perhaps to reap the fruit of the war. I wiſh it were poſſible, thou couldſt for one day put on the character of ambaſſador, and aſk the council of Athens, whether they were determined to make ARTAXERXES their foe? Methinks I ſee them confounded for an anſwer. Strait a rumour ſpreads among the populace, that the Perſian muſt be appeaſed: they aſſemble in a tumultuous manner, and demand the Peloponneſians of their magiſtrates, and ſend them honourably attended to the court of Perſia. But I leave it to your diſcretion, to uſe ſuch means, as may ſeem moſt effectual to preſerve them. Your diſtance from the city gives me little proſpect of ſucceſs; and I am not ſuch an enemy to Perſia, as to think their redemption an equivalent for the hazard of your life. Keep your ſtation. I ſend you no command from the king, of which he requires a ſtricter obſervance, than that you conſult your ſafety. Farewell.

H.

LETTER XXIX.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER. From Thebes.

HAVING in a former letter mentioned to thee, CLEANDER, the hieroglyphical inſcriptions of the famed Hermetic pillars in this country, I will here endeavour to give thee ſome general idea of the nature and conſtruction of this myſtic character. The Ægyptians, ever ſince the age of their renowned HERMES or TAAUTUS, have given much, it is ſaid, into the humour of repreſenting their thoughts to each other in a way of emblem or ſenſible imagery; a kind of expreſſion, thou wilt obſerve, which addreſſes itſelf to the eyes inſtead of the hearing, and which ſeems indeed to have this advantage, at firſt thought, of the method of ſpeaking by ſounds; that whereas words are merely arbitrary ſubſtitutes of the ideas they are uſed for, the characters of this picture-language have a ſort of natural ſignificancy in them, an aptneſs of themſelves to convey their particular meaning. The firſt principles of the art I am ſpeaking of (which, from being much uſed in the *ſacra* of this country, paſſes here under the general name of hieroglyphics) are laid in certain obſervable analogies, relations, or correſpondencies of the particular forms, actions, or qualities of animals, to certain facts in nature, morals, or hiſtory. From whence it is eaſy to infer, that the prime elements, or radical words, if one may call them ſo, in this emblematical language, were, as in all other languages, not very numerous; and that the copiouſneſs it is now poſſeſſed of, has been the work of time and ſucceſſive improvement: for a foundation, once eſtabliſhed in ſome few of the ſimpler and

more obvious analogies above hinted at, the ſuperſtructure, thou wilt readily conceive, would be capable of infinite enlargement, as more nice and critical obſervations in the kind ſhould bring in new materials for this purpoſe. It has doubtleſs been with this view, that the Ægyytains have ever been remarkable, for beſtowing a more than ordinary attention upon the various particularities of their country animals. And the fruit of their application this way abundantly ſhews itſelf in that large fund of ſymbols they have in uſe, for treating almoſt every ſubject one can think of. To ſignify, for example, the introduction of tillage and agriculture among them by the beneficent OSIRIS, one of their gods, whom they boaſt to have reigned in this country, they deſcribe an ox's head; the animal made uſe of by him, as it has been ever ſince, in ploughing their lands. When they would repreſent any perſon with a numerous offspring, they exhibit the figure of a crocodile; an animal, it ſeems, remarkable with them for its prolific and fruitful quality. Thus again the goat being obſerved to be a more than ordinary ſalacious and wanton animal, is for this reaſon made the Ægyptian emblem of animal generation at large; as is the hawk and the ſerpent, of the vital principle in animal bodies, from their being themſelves ſuppoſed to partake, in an eminent degree, of that æther or ſpirit, in which it is imagined life conſiſts. When they would expreſs the moon, they do it under the figure of an ape, which they obſerve, to have a kind of ſympathy with this divine luminary; inaſmuch as, at the time of new moon, the males of this ſpecies become blind, refuſe their uſual food, and ſhew evident tokens of ſorrow for the then total diſappearance of the moon's light; the females, at the ſame ſeaſon, beſides what happens to them in common with the males, ſuffering, 'tis remarked, a periodical infirmity of their own. The ſame animal is moreover the Ægyptian mark of the two æquinoxes; it being found at each of theſe to have a regular

81727

diſcharge of urine once every hour, during the whole four-and-twenty. It were endleſs to enlarge upon this article, CLEANDER; and there is the leſs reaſon for it, as the particulars I have already mentioned may ſuffice to anſwer my intention in this letter. I think it not improbable, that the want of a regular alphabet firſt introduced this hieroglyphical language into Ægypt. But the prieſthood here, who loſe no opportunity to give the world an advantageous idea of their own order, have ſince found it extremely uſeful, in eſtabliſhing that high reputation they are in for wiſdom of every kind; inaſmuch as, being perfect maſters of human nature, they have not failed to practice upon that prevailing foible of it, the thinking ſecrecy a ſure token of importance, by contriving this, amongſt other methods, to perplex the avenues to that knowledge they are poſſeſſed of, in order to raiſe the idea, and inhance the credit of it.

Adieu. O.

LETTER XXX.

HYDASPES to CLEANDER.

THE court, which of late years has paſſed its winters at Suſa, is now removed to ſpend this at Babylon; and though the pleaſure of ſeeing ſo celebrated a city, and enjoying the ſpacious and well-cultivated country, which lies round it, may have induced the king to change, for a time, the uſual ſeat of his reſidence, yet I believe policy has ſome part in the reſolution. For as Babylon was once the metropolis of a powerful empire, where the court of the Aſſyrian monarchs was conſtantly held, it is not without reluctance, that the inhabitants ſubmit to a foreign yoke; and from

being always honoured with the preſence of kings, and graced with privileges, are now burdened with taxes for the ſupport of their conquerors, and ruled by governors. Our monarch has rendered himſelf very acceptable here, by remitting part of the tribute, which this province paid to his predeceſſors, and receiving the ſatraps of the country, who came upon his arrival to proſtrate themſelves at his feet, with the utmoſt affability. He has been willing, that they ſhould partake of all the diverſions of his court, and diſmiſſes none, whoſe merits are conſpicuous, without ſome mark of diſtinction. Is not a prince worthy to poſſeſs the empire of the Eaſt, who like him exerts his abſolute power for the good of his ſubjects; who travels through the different parts of his dominions, not merely to diſplay the magnificence of his court, or to take a view of the outward face of the country, but to redreſs the complaints of his people, to attach to his intereſt by perſonal favours thoſe, whom duty has already ſubjected to his authority, and to learn to know and reward merit, not by the recommendation of his miniſters, but by his own obſervations? But I muſt break off this moralizing diſcourſe, which ſo little befits a courtier; and to afford thee materials for thy amuſement as well as reflection, ſhall relate a ſurprizing adventure, which happened a few days ago at the palace. Thou muſt have heard, that ARTABAZUS, the governor of Babylon, was lieutenant to MARDONIUS at the battle of Platea, and afterwards put himſelf at the head of the Perſian forces, who remained, and brought them back to Aſia, after a laborious and hazardous march. In the hurry of this confuſed retreat, his wife, who followed him in the expedition, died of fatigue and grief; and his daughter, then an infant, was carried off by a party of Greeks, who beat up one of his quarters in the night, and was never ſince heard of. In an entertainment lately performed at the palace, a new dance was introduced, in which a beautiful

ſlave of the queen's diſtinguiſhed herſelf to the admiration of every body, and put ſeveral upon enquiring who ſhe was. She had been bought two days before of a merchant of Cyprus, then at Babylon, who ſaid ſhe was ſold to him by an Athenian ſoldier, who took her priſoner from the Perſians, not long after the action at Platea. This being told ARTABAZUS, he ſent for the merchant, and upon comparing his account with other circumſtances of this unfortunate accident, which he recollected himſelf; upon ſeeing the rich ornaments which were taken with her, and found to be thoſe, with which the infant was adorn'd at the very time of her being loſt; and upon examining the whole affair, the young ſlave was diſcovered to be the daughter of ARTABAZUS, ſent him, as it were providentially, for the joy and ſupport of his declining years, and to crown the ſucceſs, which had generally attended him in public, with this laſt inſtance of domeſtic felicity.

The ſatisfaction ariſing from this happy event has been heightened by the victory, which ARTYPHIUS has gained over the Caduſians. That hardy people, having taken a rich booty, were attacked in their retreat, and wholly routed. ARTYPHIUS purſued his advantage, marched his army into their country, and forced them to ſubmit to a tribute, and to deliver up hoſtages. He is now upon his return, and highly commended for the conduct and valour he has ſhewn in this expedition. The troops, which accompanied him, were ſome of the veterans, who had fought under MEGABYZUS in Ægypt. An ambaſſador is going to the king of the Scythians, to demand ſatisfaction for the ravages that nation have committed on our frontier provinces; and ſoon after him DARIUS, the king's third ſon, will ſet out for the government of Hyrcania, which is lately beſtowed on him. The revolution occaſioned in the Athenian affairs by the removal of PERICLES, adds

much to the curioſity, with which we liſten after Grecian news. It is thought ſurprizing, that no action of importance either by ſea or land has yet happened, though the war has now laſted near two years. Notwithſtanding SITALCES has delivered up the Peloponneſian embaſſadors, an agent from Lacedæmon, it is ſaid, will ſhortly arrive here.

I tranſmit to thee by this meſſenger 5000 darics, which MEGABYZUS deſires thou wouldſt lay out for him in Grecian curioſities. If thou couldſt procure him any fine pieces of ſculpture, wrought by the hand of PHIDIAS, or ſome pictures finiſhed by the pencil of ZEUXIS, it would be highly acceptable. When thou haſt made theſe purchaſes, thou mayſt convey them to thy brother at Epheſus, who has it in charge to ſend them to him. Farewell.

From Babylon, P.

LETTER XXXI.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS. From Salamis.

OUR expectations, noble ſcribe, that the lives of the ambaſſadors would be endangered, have prov'd too well grounded; and it gives me uneaſineſs even to relate an action, which the Athenians have ſhewn no regret in committing. The Peloponneſian ambaſſadors were thrown into priſon immediately upon their arrival, and a few days after put to death by a decree of the people, and their bodies caſt into pits without the rites of burial; neither could the privileges of their character preſerve them from the cruelty of the one, nor the common ties of humanity ſecure to

them the decent ceremony of the other. As an additional circumſtance of hardſhip I am told, that though they earneſtly deſired to be heard before ſentence was paſſed, they could not obtain a requeſt, never known to be denied to the greateſt criminals. The Athenians plead in their own excuſe, that they only retaliate upon the Lacedæmonians, who acted in the ſame barbarous manner, with regard to ſome merchants of Athens, whoſe veſſels they ſeized, trading upon the coaſt of Peloponneſus. But this will not, in any degree, juſtify a violation of the ſacred rights of public miniſters; and I rather take their reſentment againſt the Lacedæmonians, for their late refuſal of peace, their hatred of ARISTEUS, for the ſhare he had in the revolt of their towns in Thrace, and perhaps the inſtigations of thoſe, who deſire a continuance of the war, to be the true cauſes of ſo extraordinary a proceeding. However, I cannot help obſerving, that whilſt both parties expreſs their enmity to each other, not by fair hoſtilities, or honourable contentions for the prize of national bravery, but by throwing off the principles of humanity, and committing acts of cruelty againſt thoſe, who are unable to defend themſelves; the name of Barbarians, with which they have injuriouſly branded the reſt of mankind, may with much more propriety be retorted on themſelves. It was impoſſible for me, who have no public character, to have uſed any intereſt in favour of theſe miſerable men; I ſhould have expoſed my own life to the ſuſpicions of the populace, with whom in their preſent rage, or rather madneſs, no perſuaſions drawn either from intereſt or compaſſion, would have any weight.

The ſpirits of this people are much elated with the news lately arrived of the ſurrender of Potidea, which has held out two years, and is now given up to the Athenian generals, on conditions very favourable to the inhabitants, who

are permitted to retire with part of their effects to Chalcis. The Athenians blame their generals for granting theſe terms; and maintain, that want of proviſions, and failure of relief, would have forced the place to ſurrender at diſcretion. But they certainly acted with judgment; for the army had ſuffered much, by lying in the field during the inclemencies of a Thracian winter, and the expences of the ſiege amounted already to 2000 talents.

The plague, I hear, daily decreaſes at Athens, which will give me an opportunity of removing my ſtation, and making enquiries myſelf on the ſcene of action, inſtead of hearkening to the reports of others at a diſtance from it. I ſhall there enquire further into the truth of an intelligence I lately received, that the diſpoſitions of the people are very favourable towards PERICLES; and that his friends are in great hopes, he will ſhortly recover his former authority, which conſidering the ſudden revolutions of popular governments, and the ſuperior talents of PERICLES, would not much ſurprize me. May the mighty OROMASDES, potent lord, preſerve the throne of CYRUS from the rude attacks of an unreſtrained multitude, the want of able ſupporters, and the union of the Greeks.

P.

LETTER XXXII.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER. From Thebes in Ægypt.

AFTER the account, which my laſt letter gave thee, CLEANDER, of the nature and genius of the Ægyptian hieroglyphics, I would in this proceed to conſider them in a very remarkable conſequence, they have had in the religious œconomy of this country; the worſhip, I mean, which thou haſt ſo often heard, is every where paid in it, to ſome or other of its home-bred animals. This is indeed ſo ſtriking an article among the many national peculiarities of this people, that it would be an unpardonable want of curioſity in a foreigner, not to enquire a little into the reaſons upon which it is founded; and the ſtate of the caſe I take in few words to be this: that the ſeveral animals now worſhipped in Ægypt, having been at firſt applied as parts of a religious language, in the way of emblem already deſcribed to thee, to expreſs the natures, and attributes of Ægyptian gods, have by time acquired ſuch a degree of ſacredneſs, as to be themſelves added to the number of them. The temples here, of which there are great numbers, are all of them furniſhed with ſome animal repreſentation; and the ſtriking magnificence of their outſide ſtructure forms, I have often thought, a good ridiculous contraſt to the contemptible meanneſs of the ſacred inhabitant within; which is, perhaps, a cat, an ape, or an ibis, the appropriated divinity of the particular pile. The regard paid by the Ægyptians to the ſeveral ſpecies of animals, whoſe figures conſtitute this ſyſtem of religious emblemry, is really incredible but to an eye-witneſs of it. They have

their guardians or attendants appointed them by public authority, who are to provide them their diet and other accommodations; an office not eſteemed unworthy perſons of conſiderable rank, and which, as it is conducted, is in itſelf a matter of no ſmall expence, as well as delicacy. The executors of this truſt are diſtinguiſhed by certain inſignia proper to their order; and in conſequence hereof are entitled to very particular marks of reſpect and reverence from all, who either with deſign, or by accident, come in their way. In ſome inſtances, I am told, to have killed one of theſe conſecrated animals, though ever ſo much by hazard, is capital without remiſſion; and as often as they die of themſelves, either by ſickneſs, or old age, the whole proviſion, which is lodged in the houſe, where the death happens, is rendered unlawful to be made uſe of, and the funeral is performed with much ceremony, and attended with as great appearances of ſorrow, as we ſhould beſtow upon that of our neareſt kindred, or moſt indeared friends. After what I have obſerved to thee, CLEANDER, of the politic vanity of the prieſthood in this country, thou wilt not wonder, if ſome of theſe conſecrations are built upon reaſons ſo abſtruſe and recondite, as, however they may afford ſome kind of apology for this practice to the learned, can, I am ſure, adminiſter none to the vulgar, as lying much out of the reach of common apprehenſion. And to ſay the truth to thee, [beſides that, as a Perſian, I have no great opinion of temples in general, which, whilſt they give a ſplendor and majeſty to the outſide face of religion, ſeem to me calculated to ſully the inward purity of it, as ſuggeſting too confined an idea of the powers and preſence of the gods;] I have ſtill a much greater difficulty with myſelf to conceive, amidſt all thoſe refined pretences, which are here offered for this emblem worſhip, that the figure of a cat, or an ape, can be, in any regards, a fit

repreſentative of thoſe adorable and moſt excellent natures, when in the judgment of our wiſe and venerable Magi, not even the human form itſelf is allowed to be ſuch. Adieu.

Q.

LETTER XXXIII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

IT is with pleaſure that I inform thee, noble ſatrap, of my return to Athens, where the plague is almoſt entirely ceaſed, though the ravages it has made, the deſolation it has cauſed in the moſt conſiderable families, and the weak and diſpirited turn, it has given to the affairs of this ſtate in general, will be felt long after all ſymptoms of infection have diſappeared.

A very extraordinary event juſt preceded my arrival, the reſtoration of PERICLES to his former authority. Shall I ſay, the people have ſhewn their good ſenſe, or their folly, by their conduct with regard to him? the one in placing him at the helm, when conjunctures of difficulty and diſtreſs require a miniſter of experience and abilities; the other, by permitting their natural fickleneſs to appear ſo ſtrongly by ſuch a total change of their ſentiments, as now to reverence him as their protector and leader, whom, but a few months ago, they gave up with ignominy to the accuſations of his enemies, and thought guilty of the higheſt miſdemeanors.

PERICLES appeared wholly engaged in the domeſtic concerns of a private life, and was in the height of his grief

for the loſs of PARALUS, the laſt of his legitimate children, when they invited him to accept his former office of general. ALCIBIADES, and his other friends, whoſe intrigues contributed not a little to this ſudden revolution, perſuaded him to come abroad, and ſhew himſelf to the people. They received him with great marks of affection and eſteem, and at their requeſt he has reſumed the adminiſtration of their affairs. His power is already ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, that he has procured the abrogation of a law he was himſelf the author of, which enacted, that none were to be deemed citizens of Athens, but thoſe, whoſe father and mother were both Athenians. At the time it paſſed, five thouſand Athenians loſt their liberty for want of the qualification, which it required, and were ſold for ſlaves. The only intent of its preſent repeal is, that he may be allowed to enroll his natural ſon in the regiſter of his tribe by his own name. Thus has PERICLES triumphed over the ſhort-lived inſults of his enemies; and not only fixed the natural inconſtancy of the Athenians in his favour, but even riſen from his fall with redoubled vigor; a circumſtance in which, either through his ſuperior fortune or ſuperior addreſs, he is yet unrivalled by the greateſt of his predeceſſors, who have conducted the counſels of this republic. Thou mayeſt eaſily imagine, potent miniſter, that my deſire to uſe every method that could poſſibly promote the ſervice of ARTAXERXES, and a curioſity very natural in ſuch caſes to be known to ſo eminent a perſon, would induce me to omit no opportunity of being introduced to PERICLES. My patron and friend PHILEMON, who from his long experience in buſineſs, and his ſingular humanity, has acquired the veneration and love of the whole city, and particularly of PERICLES, though he has ſometimes oppoſed his meaſures, has done me that kind office. I was preſented to him as a native of Epheſus, who having travelled over great part of the Eaſt, and acquir'd ſome knowledge of

its cuſtoms and policies, and ſome taſte alſo for Grecian literature, was deſirous to ſpend the remainder of my life under the mild and juſt government of Athens. PERICLES received me with his uſual affability; and aſked me whether I exerciſed any employment here: I told him (what I always anſwer to ſuch a queſtion) that my brother, who was a merchant of Epheſus, and had great correſpondence at Athens, tranſacted much of his buſineſs through my hands, but that the chief reaſon of my ſettling in this place, was to enjoy the happineſs of obeying the excellent laws of ſo wiſe a ſtate, and to converſe with the inhabitants of a city, the moſt famed in Greece for learning and politeneſs. He ſeemed pleaſed with my anſwer, and enquired into ſeveral particulars relating to the manners of Aſia, the ſtrength and riches of Perſia, and the characters of the miniſters of the ſublime court. I found him no ſtranger to the ſhining qualities of our monarch, or the great talents of MEGABYZUS, and thyſelf. I am not without hopes, that my being admitted into the acquaintance of PERICLES may furniſh me with opportunities of acquiring a ſtill further knowledge of his character, deſigns, and the maxims of his politics. Preparations are going on here for the next year's campaign; twenty galleys are ready to ſail to Naupactus, which is a port very advantageouſly ſituated for interrupting the Corinthian navigation, and obſerving the motions of their fleet. The admiral, whoſe name is PHORMIO, is in ſuch repute for his valor and conduct, that the public choſe to pay his debts out of the treaſury, rather than be deprived of his ſervice. And here it may not be improper to lay before thee a ſhort account of the method uſed at Athens in ſetting forth their naval equipments. It is ſomething particular, and will give thee an idea of the military regulations of this people, as thou haſt already had of their civil. The expences of theſe preparations are not laid upon the people in general, but diſcharged by a

claſs of the richeſt citizens, taken out of every tribe: Sixteen are allotted to fit out each trirem. Any citizen, who is elected trierarch or commander of a galley, is obliged to accept the office, unleſs he can produce another citizen richer than himſelf. The informer muſt likewiſe propoſe to change eſtates with the other, who is forced to accept the propoſal under the penalty of fitting out the galley himſelf. Thou mayeſt eaſily imagine, that this law, (to which the poorer ſort, who are always the bulk of a nation, are ſtrongly attached) gives occaſion to frequent conteſts, delays, and evaſions; and before they can be accommodated, the ſeaſon for action is ſometimes loſt. Far different are the awful mandates of the great king, which are no ſooner deſigned, than executed with the utmoſt vigour. They are ſwift and irreſiſtible, like the piercing lightening ſhot from the hand of OROMASDES: Aſia trembles at them, and confeſſes its lawful ſovereign.

From Athens. P.

LETTER XXXIV.

CLEANDER to OTANES.

SHORTLY after my arrival and ſettlement in this city, I gave thee, potent lord, an account of its extent and magnificence in general. Having ſince had opportunity of ſurveying its parts more exactly, I proceed now to give thee a fuller and more particular deſcription of them; and in doing this I ſhall chuſe to begin, where a ſtranger moſt naturally would, at the place of his landing, the port. This indeed conſiſts of two parts, the Piræus and Phalerus, which together are the great emporium of trade, and the magazine of all their naval ſtores. Not that even theſe are without their ornaments, for in this we meet with the ſeveral temples of JUPITER, MINERVA, and CERES, and altars to the UNKNOWN GODS, a remarkable inſtance of the great ſuperſtition, and, at the ſame time, the little foundation there is for it among this people. In the other, beſides ſeveral temples, there is a very neat portico, in which is a picture of THEMISTOCLES, by whoſe advice this port was converted from a court of judicature to what it now is, and near to it his ſepulchre alſo; his citizens being willing to allow him a place among them when dead, which they refuſed him while alive, though whether he is really interr'd here or no, is very uncertain. In the paſſage from hence towards the city are one or two porticos, though of no great name, till you come to the Ceramicus, a quarter ſo called from a hero of that name, as ſome ſay, though others give it a much leſs noble derivation; and in this are an infinite number of temples, theatres, porticos, and ſtatues. Of the temples, the moſt remarkable

is that ſacred to JUPITER THE DELIVERER, and built upon the expulſion of the Perſians; and cloſe by it is a noble portico, in which are painted the twelve ſuperior deities, as they are called here; and a figure of THESEUS, together with a repreſentation of that form of government, which prevails here, *viz.* democracy, conſiſting of a number of ſmaller figures ſo diſpoſed, as to form one uniform body, adorned with a crown and other enſigns of authority. Near this a very fine ſtatue of APOLLO ALEXIKAKOS is juſt now erecting, as a token of their gratitude to him, for having freed them from the late terrible peſtilence. At ſome diſtance from hence is the court, where the great council of five hundred aſſemble, which is very properly adorned with the repreſentation of JUPITER THE COUNSELLOR; and on one hand of this, another figure of the collective body of the people, on the other, the venerable portraits of DRACO, SOLON, and their legiſlators, than which nothing can be more auguſt, eſpecially, as they are finiſhed by the maſterly hand of TIMANTHUS. Near this is a vaſt collection of ſtatues, ſome of their gods, others of their old kings and heroes; and yet numerous as they are, they aver, that they are now far ſhort of what they were, before the ſacking of the city by XERXES, who deſtroyed or carried away moſt of the beſt. It is in this quarter, that one of the greateſt curioſities in the city is found, namely a copious ſpring of freſh water, which is the only one in it; and cloſe by it is a temple, dedicated to the Eluſinian CERES, too ſacred to be approached by any, but thoſe, who have been initiated into her venerable myſteries; ſo I can give no account of what it contains. Before it ſtands an ox very finely carved, and the ſtatue of a man called EPIMENIDES, whom they report to have ſlept forty years together in a cave, and at the end of that term to have appeared, to the infinite amazement of himſelf as well as friends. Near it is a ſtatue of the heavenly

VENUS done by PHIDIAS, in ſo exquiſite a manner and taſte, that it may ſerve to convince poſterity of the happy genius of this great maſter, and be an inimitable ſpecimen of the productions and workmanſhip of this age.

A little above the Ceramicus is the famous portico called Pœcile, from the variety of admirable paintings, with which it is adorned. It is here, that ſome of the greateſt maſters in this art have employed all their ſkill, the ſubjects, as well as the finiſhing of them, having given a fine opportunity of ſhewing the extent of it. In the middle, is the battle of THESEUS with the Amazons; on one ſide the burning of Troy, with the portraits of their chief leaders in that famous expedition, and on the other, a large and full repreſentation of the battle of Marathon, ſo fatal to the Perſian power, and ſo glorious to this city. In this thou wilt imagine, the painter would omit no circumſtance of doing honour to his country, or diſcredit to ours: the rout of our monarch's troops is too well and too lively expreſs'd, not to raiſe the utmoſt concern and indignation in the faithful CLEANDER's breaſt; and though I am tempted by the fineneſs of the performance to ſpeak of it more fully, as well as I was to ſurvey it more cloſely, yet I forbear to dwell upon a ſubject, that muſt be equally diſagreeable to us both. Before it ſtands a group of ſtatues of their chief leaders and lawgivers; among whom SOLON, as he deſerves, is in a more eminent and diſtinguiſhed place; and at a little diſtance, my old friend PHILEMON pointed to an altar, which he ſaid was the only one in all Greece dedicated to Compaſſion; inſinuating, like a true Athenian, the peculiar humanity, on which they ſo much value themſelves. Near this (beſides the famous temple of THESEUS, CASTOR, *&c.* which I mentioned in my laſt) is the court called Prytaneum, where the original laws of SOLON are depoſited, and kept with the utmoſt care; and a

temple ſo ancient, as to boaſt of DEUCALION, the great reſtorer of mankind, as they ſay, after a deluge, for its founder. Not far from hence is a part of the city called the gardens; and a ſtreet named the Tripods, where are two fine temples, one of BACCHUS, the other of ÆSCULAPIUS, both remarkable for ſeveral exquiſite paintings, repreſenting the extraordinary actions of the one, and cures of the other. From hence lies the aſcent, by marble ſteps, to the citadel or upper city, of which and the famous Parthenion in it I gave ſome deſcription in my former letter; and to give a minute and full one would exceed the limits of this. The great number of temples, and the ſtill greater of ſtatues and pictures, are not to be conceived: thoſe of MINERVA, as being the guardian and protectreſs of the city, ſtrike the eye in every part of it, but here in a particular manner. Here the conteſt between her and NEPTUNE is ſet forth in more than one place; and it is here, that a ſtatue of her in braſs formed out of the ſpoils taken at Marathon is placed, of ſo ſtupendous a ſize, as to be a mark for ſhips ſailing at a great diſtance. Beſide theſe appropriated to the gods and heroes, I ſhould inform thee, that there are ſeveral other public buildings, deſigned for places of exerciſe and entertainment. Their theatres in particular grow daily more and more ſplendid, and their gymnaſia are built with ſo much grandeur and magnificence, as to appear almoſt like towns. And a little way from the city is another Ceramicus, deſigned and ſet apart for the burying place of all thoſe, who have done ſervice to their country by their lives, or honour to it by their deaths; near which is an encloſure and plantation called the Academy, to which the philoſophers and men of letters (here a large tribe) daily reſort, and entertain themſelves or their diſciples with diſquiſitions and debates upon all points of ſcience. In a word, it were endleſs to recite all the ſtructures and curioſities, with which this city abounds; and yet amidſt all this pomp, and among the infinite number of buildings, it may ſeem wonder-

ful, that there are none, but what are in honour to their gods and benefactors, or for public use. They are as frugal in what are designed for their own service, as they are expensive in these. They build for the credit of public, not for private luxury; and if immortal natures could receive any satisfaction from the beauty and grandeur of the structures dedicated to them, Athens would be no less the habitation of the gods, than they boast it to be of humanity and politeness. Adieu.

R.

LETTER XXXV.

CLEANDER to MEGABYZUS.

I have made it my business, sage lord, to enquire into the lives and characters of such Athenians, whether living or dead, as are most remarkable for the services they have done their own country, or the mischiefs they have done ours; and send thee some commentaries of them enclosed. In perusing these, thou wilt soon be convinced, that it was not chance or ill fortune, which the Persians are to blame for their defeats; when thou shalt learn, and by so many instances be convinced, of the resolute but cool courage of MILTIADES, the steady inflexible integrity of ARISTIDES, the engaging virtues and humane deportment of CIMON (I mention not THEMISTOCLES, as thou wert no stranger to his abilities, while in the service of our great monarch) when thou shalt consider the great and elevated soul of PERICLES, directing all his care and thought, his whole life and fortune to the service of his country, impatient indeed of rivals, not because he fears their

eclipſing him, but that conſcious of his own ſufficiency and upright intentions, he is unwilling to have any obſtacles to controul him in his great deſigns. I ſay, when thou ſhalt conſider all theſe circumſtances, thou wilt be no longer ſurprized, that under ſuch powerful conductors, ſo ſmall a ſtate ſhould have ſo long withſtood and baffled the repeated attacks of the moſt formidable empire in the world. Nay, were it not for the counterpoiſe, that theſe heroes have in the perverſeneſs and folly, the fickleneſs and reſentment of thoſe, with whom they have to do, I ſhould not be without apprehenſion, that danger might approach even the throne of CYRUS. May the Greeks continue to fight our battles, by their unſeaſonable diſſentions; and while they have their CLEONS and TOLMIDES's, the deſigns of even a PERICLES muſt ever prove as abortive as they lately did, when he convened all the ſtates of Greece, and employed the utmoſt power of his eloquence, to engage them in a league againſt the great king, but to no purpoſe. But here I pauſe, and my ſoul even ſhudders, while I recite to thee a particular concerning THEMISTOCLES, little known, and therefore not inſerted among the relations, which I ſend thee. It ſeems, that ſhortly after obtaining that fatal victory over the Perſians (when the preſence of XERXES added to his diſgrace) in conjunction with, and by the aſſiſtance of the confederated fleet of all their allies, he made a propoſal to ARISTIDES (who was commiſſion'd by the city to receive and judge of it privately) to fall on and deſtroy that very fleet, in order to render Athens abſolute at ſea. ARISTIDES reported, that nothing indeed could be more advantageous to, or more promote the power of the commonwealth, than THEMISTOCLES's propoſal; but withal, that it would be the moſt unjuſt thing in the world to execute it. On this it was dropt, and THEMISTOCLES's friends ſay, that it was a high love and regard for his country, which alone put him on a deſign, which his ſoul otherwiſe would have abhorred.

But can a love of one's country, or any other conſideration, excuſe ſuch horrible perfidy? No, potent ſatrap, we are no longer men, when we ſhake off the common principles of humanity; ſuch deſperate deſigns ſpeak a mind not to be controuled by any faith or by any ties; and he, who could ſo baſely think of ſacrificing his friends and allies to his country, would not ſcruple to ſacrifice even that country to his own intereſt or reſentments. Adieu.

From Athens, R.

The end of the ſecond year of the Peloponneſian war.

A. M. 3575. *4th year of the 87th Olymp.*
3d year of the Peloponneſian war.

LETTER XXXVI.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

THE danger, which threatens Athens, makes its approaches by ſlow but ſure ſteps. The Peloponneſians have made no incurſion upon the territory of Attica; they ſeem bent upon reducing ſuch cities, as are allied to their enemies, whereby they may be ſecured from their annoyance, and have a ſafe retreat even in an adverſary's country: they are now ſet down before Platæa, a city in firm alliance with this ſtate. ARCHIDAMUS the Lacedæmonian king, upon advancing toward the city, was addreſſed by deputation from the Platæans, who remonſtrated to him, how unjuſtifiable the hoſtilities were, which he was preparing, ſince the liberty and privileges of that city were conferred upon it by the unanimous voice of Greece, for their gallant behaviour in the Perſian war, and were in a particular manner confirmed by PAUSANIAS, the Lacedæmonian general, with a promiſe of inviolable ſecurity. ARCHIDAMUS made anſwer, that he had no objection to their pretenſions, provided they would join in reſcuing that common liberty from the tyranny of Athens, which they had ſo bravely defended againſt the arms of Perſia; or at leaſt, that they would be neutral as to all hoſtilities,

and give them the ſame amicable reception they would the Athenians; or if they pleaſed, they might intruſt him with the poſſeſſion of their city, which he would preſerve from the leaſt damage, and reſtore to them with all its properties and immunities at the concluſion of the war; and in the mean time, would contribute what might be ſufficient for their ſubſiſtence. Anſwer was made to theſe propoſals, that they could not poſſibly yield to them, without acquainting the Athenians, who had their wives and children within their walls; and deſired a truce of three or four days for this purpoſe, which was accordingly allowed. The Platæan deputies were received here with expreſſions of the higheſt reſpect and affection, and aſſurance of fidelity to their engagements on the ſide of Athens, and were ſent back to the city with earneſt exhortations, that no conceſſions might be made to their common enemy; which ſo far prevailed upon the Platæans, that they reſolved to anſwer them only from the walls.

Upon perceiving this, ARCHIDAMUS (as though it were impious to aſſault a city yet under the protection of its gods) after invoking the tutelar deity and guardian powers of Platæa, to witneſs the juſtice of his whole conduct in the amicable terms he had offered, and the juſt vengeance he was going to execute for their refuſal, blocked up the city. The ſeveral aſſaults he has made, though maintained with the utmoſt bravery, have proved unſucceſsful againſt the ſtratagems or reſolution, with which the Platæans either evade or repulſe them; ſo that the event of this ſiege muſt be the ſubject of another letter.

If the Peloponneſians have been hitherto unſucceſsful at Platæa, the Athenians have been more ſo, in an expedition lately made by their army in Thrace. Two thouſand heavy armed men, and two hundred horſe, were ſent againſt the

Chalcidians, under the joint command of three officers, XENOPHON and two others. Upon their arrival near Spartolum (a town of the enemy's) they found a faction within the walls ready to ſurrender and receive them as friends, but were oppoſed by a contrary party, who had in the interim ſent to beg ſuccour of the Olynthians, which accordingly came and engaged the Athenians near Spartolum. The Chalcidian and auxiliary heavy armed ſoldiers were worſted, and fled into the town; but in another part of the action, their horſe and light armed men routed thoſe of the Athenians. A reſerve in the town, being reinforced by another ſmall party from the Olynthians, made a freſh attack upon the Athenians; upon which they retreated to their baggage, and joined two companies left there. From hence they annoy'd the enemy with their miſſive weapons, who gave ground, and the Athenians advanced forward, and they continued to retire. The Athenians through the warmth of purſuit being drawn out into an inconvenient ſituation, the Chalcidian horſe attacked them, broke their ranks, and put them to flight. The three commanding officers and conſiderable part of the men are cut off, and the remnant of the defeated army took refuge in Pontidæa. I have ſent thee this ſhort account of the engagement, as it is brought by an expreſs juſt arrived from Thrace, not doubting but thou wilt have a more particular one by a nearer conveyance.

Thus do the foes of Perſia continue to waſte each other, and prevent by their own animoſities that vengeance, which they have reaſon to dread from thy councils and the arms of ARTAXERXES. I don't know, whether the ſhame and loſs of this defeat will ſo much affect the minds of this people, as another loſs they are like to ſuſtain; I mean that of PERICLES himſelf, whoſe health ſenſibly decays, which, I am perſuaded, ought to be more dear to them than the

lives of thouſands. The plague, which raged here ſo lately amongſt all the ranks of men, ſpared not PERICLES; that active miniſter ſtruggled with his diſtemper, without remitting any thing of his concern for the public. But alas! how could a frail diſtemper'd body, keep pace with ſuch a ſoul? its efforts are too ſtrong for the bands, which united it; like a fierce lion in the toils, whoſe activity is reſtrained, it has almoſt burſt through its confinement, and will ſoon leave its unworthy concomitant, and fly to the abodes, which are allotted to thoſe, who have ſpent a life of toil and danger in the ſervice of their country.

From Athens. H.

LETTER XXXVII.

SMERDIS to CLEANDER.

* THOUGH thou art by extraction a Greek, yet I no more ſuſpect thy attachment to the religion, than our generous monarch does thy fidelity to the government of Perſia. I know thou muſt alike diſapprove the unſteadineſs of thy country's polity and philoſophy. The ſcruples thou haſt imparted to me, I receive as an inſtance of tenderneſs to our faith, which you wiſh to ſee purged of all doubts. But this cannot be, CLEANDER; the origin, power, and dealings of ARIMANIUS with the ſons of men are myſterious and unaccountable; they puzzle the ableſt ſpeculatiſt with gloomy apprehenſions and inexplicable difficulties; while the contemplation of OROMASDES refreſhes the ſoul with agreeable truths, and branches out into innumerable paths

* Vide Letter XX.

of delightful knowledge. Wonder not at this, and expect not to have all thy doubts removed concerning the nature of that evil one, whose best emblem is darkness; rather withdraw thy attention, and place it where it may ever be employed with delight and satisfaction. How sweet is the view of an expanded lawn, or the azure field of heaven, after the eye has been fatigued with prying into a difficult scheme, or narrowly viewing some complex piece of machinery? Such is the refreshment the soul feels, when it turns from † ARIMANIUS to beloved YESDAN, from confusion to order, from discord to peace, from the author of ill to the ever beauteous source of all good. I am unwilling to blame thy anxiety for man; yet thy knowledge of our holy prophet makes it blameable: he, one would think, should have dispersed the cloud, that hung over us, when he debased the enemy of our nature, the vile ARIMANIUS, who aspired to equal the highest, and had infused an opinion of his equality into the minds of deluded mortals. The enlightened sage was conscious of his usurpation; he questioned his sovereignty, he dethroned the impostor, and pronounced him impotent. From that hour a sweet serenity possessed the heart of true believers; an inestimable solace from the assurance, that we are altogether in the hands of benign YESDAN; a consolation envied us by cursed AHRIMAN, which even now he labours to subvert, and leave thy bosom destitute of peace. But let not the dignity of OROMASDES suffer in thy opinion, who can as arbitrarily dispose of ARIMANIUS, as of the meanest of his creatures; and will not fail to plunge him in everlasting misery, for his rebellious attempts to withdraw his adorers, when all the evil he delights in and is permitted to exercise, will prey upon himself. These are truths, CLEANDER, taught

† YESDAN and AHRIMAN are two different names for OROMASDES and ARIMANIUS.

by the wiſdom of ZERDUSHT, and are a purer emblem of the divinity, than the holy flame depoſited in the temple of BALCH. Reſt ſecure, that mankind, whom thou haſt ſuch a tender regard for, will find juſtice; every action will be weighed in the balance of thoſe angels, who guard that bridge, which all mortals muſt paſs. Our own deeds will determine our happineſs, or doom us to the kingdom of AHRIMAN. What! ſayeſt thou, ſhall the wicked AHRIMAN be permitted to puniſh thoſe whom he has ſeduced? Doubt it not, CLEANDER; they, who liſtened to his ſuggeſtions, will have their lot with him. To inflict ill is an imperfection; the great OROMASDES cannot do it; thoſe therefore, whoſe lives call for puniſhment, are aſſigned over to that being, who is the parent of all ill. OROMASDES only draws his protection from the unhappy wretches, and ARIMANIUS ſtrait perceives, that his dominion is enlarged; he takes poſſeſſion of them, as quickly as darkneſs takes the place of light, when the lovely MITHRAS ſinks beneath the weſtern mountains.

Is it not enough, that we know AHRIMAN is our foe? that he triumphs in our weakneſs? Is not this all the knowledge of him, that is uſeful to us? Muſt we alſo enquire into his *origin*, and the reaſon of his power? Shall we not truſt the counſels of heaven, unleſs we be made privy to them; which, like a dazzling beam of light upon the feeble eye-ball, would confound inſtead of enlightning the human mind? When we make any real progreſs in ſcience, how ſlow and ſhort are our ſteps? Yet we ſuffer ourſelves to graſp at immenſity, to ſtretch the imagination beyond the limits of time, and enquire into the nature of eternity, whether good and evil be of equal duration, and whether in conſequence their power muſt be the ſame; whether if AHRIMAN had a beginning, he can without impiety be number'd amongſt the works of ORO-

MASDES; or whether the elements (from whence the frame of nature was call'd forth by the voice of OROMASDES) are not of a generative power, and in the confuſion of chaos in their utmoſt diſcord, during their moſt impure mixture and defilement, produced this evil one. A thouſand volumes have been employed on theſe ſubjects without ſucceſs; for ſome truths can never be diſcloſed, becauſe providence has purpoſely thrown a veil over them. AHRIMAN cannot, ſay the learned, be part of the creation, becauſe he partakes nothing of the divine original. It is moſt certain, that hateful and malignant being, ſo repugnant to the deity in his will and actions, could not receive ſo deteſtable a form of nature from ſo pure a cauſe. It is not long ſince (as thou knoweſt) the thrice venerable OSTANES dwelt amongſt us, whoſe wiſdom, as grateful as a refreſhing dew to the parched earth, ſunk into the boſom of his thirſty hearers. He was deeply ſkilled in the invariable laws of nature, and judged ſoberly of the motives of providence itſelf. He would often ſay, the elements, and whatever is merely of their compoſition, have the arbitrary will of YESDAN as a law; they are governed by neceſſity, and know no choice. Where God has given reaſon, he has made the actions of that being free and the reſult of reaſon; man therefore is free, and the moſt exalted heavenly ſpirits are free as man, and may chooſe amiſs like him, until by a ſteady perſeverance in right they render themſelves habitually good, and make a nearer approach to their maker, who cannot do ill. Such a one as thoſe I can ſuppoſe the curſed AHRIMAN once to have been, a refined ſpirit full of excellence and beauty, when he aroſe from the creating hand of OROMASDES, fit to preſide over and regulate the frame of nature, and perhaps employed in that glorious ſervice, happy in the powers of his nature, in his eminence of ſtation and the contemplation of his immortality. I can conceive him venturing even to doubt, whether there be a

power ſufficient to diſſolve an immortal ſpirit like himſelf (which brought into being ſeemed to have an independent title to eternity and happineſs) and to miſapply reaſons, till he had engaged himſelf in a thought of revolting from God, and (which he ſtill ſo induſtriouſly aims at) of retaining in the worſhip of himſelf alone that part of the univerſe, which he ſuperintended. The Almighty would not counteract his own wiſe decree; he would not interfere with freedom, which his all-ſeeing eye then perceived to be abuſed: but from that moment he withdrew his cheriſhing influence from the apoſtate ſpirit, who was as it were expelled that preſence, which gladdens the univerſe. Immediately he ſhed all his excellence; his comelineſs fell from him, and he abhorred his own deformities, but much more all that was fair and good, which could upbraid him with the glory he had forfeited, and his preſent execrable lot. The wicked conceptions he had indulged himſelf in were now unreſtrained, and the ſole good he could propoſe was the gratification of himſelf in ill.

Mayſt thou, CLEANDER, find arguments herein to appeaſe thy doubts, and juſtify to thyſelf the ways of providence, ſo as to look with indifference on the dangers, to which the nature of thy employment ſubjects thee; and if they ſhould take hold of thee, to bear thy fate with leſs concern than we, who know thee, muſt bear the report. Adieu.

From Balch in Bactria. H.

LETTER XXXVIII.

CLEANDER to ORSAMES.

I have now found leiſure, noble ORSAMES, to complete my deſign of giving thee a curſory view of the preſent ſtate of philoſophy in Greece; and however imperfect the execution of it proves, let me venture to hope, that by taking my ſhare in this literary correſpondence, I make the moſt ſuitable return to the letters thou haſt lately favoured me with, on the hieroglyphical learning of the Ægyptians; a ſubject, on which it might be eaſily imagined, that the acuteneſs of thy judgment, and the elegance of thy ſtile, would both diſplay themſelves to advantage.

In our philoſophical progreſs we have already gone through the ſect of THALES, and are next to paſs through that of PYTHAGORAS. This celebrated philoſopher, born in the 4th year of the 43d olympiad, was (according to the general opinion) the ſon of a ſculptor at Samos; but the meanneſs of his parentage did not hinder him from being educated under one of the greateſt men of his time, PHERECYDES of Syrus, who firſt taught the immortality of the ſoul. Upon his death, PYTHAGORAS determined to trace ſcience as it were up to its fountain head, and to ſupply himſelf with freſh ſtores of it in thoſe parts of the world, where it ſeems to have ariſen. Animated by this deſire of knowledge, he ſubmitted to that tedious and diſcouraging courſe of preparatory diſcipline, which is neceſſary to obtain the benefit of Ægyptian initiation. When he had made himſelf

a thorough maſter of the ſciences, which are cultivated in the ſacerdotal colleges of Thebes and Memphis, he purſued his travels through the Eaſt, converſing with the Magi and Indian Brachmans, and mixing their doctrines with thoſe he had learnt in Ægypt. He afterwards ſtudied the laws of MINOS at Crete, and thoſe of LYCURGUS at Sparta. Having ſpent the earlier part of his life in this uſeful manner, 'tis no wonder, if he returned to Samos well acquainted with every thing curious either in nature or art in foreign countries, improv'd with all the advantages proceeding from a regular and laborious courſe of learned education, and adorned likewiſe with that knowledge of mankind, which is neceſſary to gain the aſcendant over them. PYTHAGORAS, accuſtomed to freedom, diſliked the arbitrary government of POLYCRATES, then tyrant of Samos, and retired to Crotona in Italy, where he opened a ſchool of philoſophy; and by the gravity and ſanctity of his manners, the importance of his tenets, and the peculiarity of his inſtitutions, ſoon ſpread his fame and influence over Italy and Greece. Among other projects, which he uſed to create reſpect and gain credit to his aſſertion, he concealed himſelf in a cave, and cauſed it to be reported, that he was dead; then after ſome time he came abroad, and pretended that the intelligence, which his friends gave him in his retreat, of the tranſactions of Crotona, was collected, during his ſtay in the other world among the ſhades of the departed. He formed the diſciples, who came from all parts to put themſelves under his direction, into a kind of republic, where none were admitted till a ſevere probation had ſufficiently exerciſed their patience and docility. He afterwards divided them into the eſoteric and exoteric claſſes: to the former he entruſted the more ſublime and ſecret doctrines, to the latter the more ſimple and popular. This great man found himſelf able to unite the character of the legiſlator to that of the philoſopher, and to rival LYCURGUS and ORPHEUS in the one, PHERE-

CYDES and THALES in the other; following, in this particular, the patterns ſet him by the Ægyptian prieſts, his inſtructors, who are not leſs celebrated for ſettling the civil than the religious œconomy of their nation. In imitation of them, PYTHAGORAS gave laws to the republic of Crotona, and brought the inhabitants from a ſtate of luxury and diſſoluteneſs, to be eminent for order and ſobriety. Whilſt he lived, he was frequently conſulted by the neighbouring republics, as the compoſer of their differences, and the reformer of their manners; and ſince his death (which happened about the 4th year of the 70th olympiad, in a tumult raiſed againſt him by one CYLON) the adminiſtration of their affairs has generally been intruſted to ſome of his diſciples, amongſt whom, to produce the authority of their maſter for any aſſertion, is ſufficient to eſtabliſh the truth of it without further enquiry. The moſt celebrated of the philoſophical notions of PYTHAGORAS are thoſe concerning the nature of the deity, the tranſmigration of ſouls into different bodies (which he borrowed from the Brachmans) and the ſyſtem of the world. As to the former, he held, that God was diffuſed through all parts of the univerſe, like a kind of univerſal ſoul, pervading every particle of matter, and animating every living creature, from the moſt contemptible reptile to mankind themſelves, who ſhare a larger portion of the divine ſpirit. The metempſychoſis was founded on this maxim, that as the ſoul was of cœleſtial origin, it could not be annihilated, and therefore, upon abandoning one body, neceſſarily removed into another; and frequently did penance for its former vicious inclinations, in the ſhape of a beaſt or inſect, before it appeared again in that of a human creature. He pretended, that he had a particular faculty given him by the gods, of remembring the various bodies his own ſoul had paſſed through, and confounded cavillers by referring them to his own experience. In his ſyſtem of the world, the third

doctrine, which diſtinguiſhes his ſect, he ſuppoſed, that the ſun was at reſt in the centre, and that the earth, the moon, and the other planets moved round it in different orbits. He pretended to have great ſkill in the myſteri[illegible]rries of numbers, and held that ſome particular o[illegible]ined a peculiar force and ſignificancy; but whether theſe were his own whimſical fancies, or the refinements of his followers, I know not. It is certain he was a great geometrician, and inveſtigated a famous problem, which goes by his name; nor was he leſs ſkilled in the knowledge of nature, though I give no credit to the miraculous ſecrets he is ſuppoſed to be maſter of, neither will I tire thee by mentioning ſuch idle fables. This remarkable circumſtance may ſerve to conclude my account of him, that he was the firſt who called himſelf by the modeſt title *Philoſopher*, a lover of wiſdom only; whereas the ſages, his predeceſſors, ſtiled themſelves *Sophoi*, the wiſe, arrogantly aſſuming a name, which the voice of mankind alone has a right to beſtow, and ſuppoſing they poſſeſs'd what moſt of them all their lives purſued without obtaining.

There are few particulars known concerning ARISTÆUS, who ſucceeded him in the Italic School, or MNEMARCHUS his ſon, who had next the honour to be advanced to his father's place. EMPEDOCLES of Agrigentum is at preſent the moſt celebrated philoſopher of this ſect: there are ſeveral wonderful ſtories told of him. He ſeems, like Pythagoras, to be an able naturaliſt, exalted into a magician by the ignorant and ſuperſtitious. According to him, the four elements are the firſt principles of all things, which continue in a perpetual flux and agitation, occaſioned by two different qualities, an uniting and a ſeparating one, which, as they prevail, vary the productions and effects of nature. DEMOCRITUS of Abdera (with whom I will conclude this account of the Greek philoſophy) has made himſelf famous,

by maintaining the atomical ſyſtem; of which I ſhall only ſay, that it excludes the exiſtence of a deity, and aſcribes the formation of the world to the fortuitous concourſe of unperiſhable atoms endued with motion. The ſtrange humour and temper of the man is not unſuitable to ſo ſtrange a doctrine, he finds occaſion for laughter in every incident of human life, a funeral or a triumph, an aſſembly of ſenators or a company of fools contribute equally to his mirth; juſt the contrary character to HERACLITUS of Epheſus, who finds occaſion for tears in the ſame actions which excite laughter in the other. Theſe are the chief ſyſtems of philoſophy prevailing at preſent in Greece; and the profeſſors of them, while they outwardly conform to the religion of the country, are not only tolerated, but meet with public honours and encouragement. Thou mayſt eaſily judge from the differences, which are allowed in the moſt important points, as the nature of the gods, the ſoul's immortality, and a future ſtate, that the religion of the Greeks conſiſts rather in a variety of ceremonies and rites, adapted to the particular powers and attributes of their local deities, than in formularies of belief, and eſtabliſhed doctrines in theological matters. Thou wilt likewiſe obſerve, on what unſtable foundations the knowledge of nature is at preſent built, whilſt every ſect frames a peculiar hypotheſis, (which has no relation either in the general principles, or particular branches of it to any of the reſt) and then endeavours to balance the want of reaſons by the weight of numbers; as if the only point to be conſidered was, how to perplex mankind by the variety of oppoſite tenets, inſtead of enlightening their underſtandings; to overbear them by poſitive aſſertions, inſtead of convincing them by ſolid arguments. Till thoſe happy times ſhall come, when nature may perhaps deign to unfold her ſecrets to the ſearches of inquiſitive mortals, let us be contented to gratify our curioſity in theſe ſpeculations, with-

out expecting from them much real improvement in ſcience. Farewell.

P.

LETTER XXXIX.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

IT was not without reaſon, my HYDASPES, that when I promiſed thee an account of the Grecian poets and hiſtorians, I began with the characters of the former; ſince it is certainly true (though it may ſeem a kind of paradox to ſay it) that poetical fiction was univerſally received in the world before hiſtorical certainty. Hence is it, that fable has uſurped the place of truth, and except tradition, we have ſcarce a guide to conduct us in our ſearches through the darker and more myſterious ages of antiquity. The Grecian hiſtory is an eminent proof of this remark, ſince the earlieſt æra of it is very differently ſtated by the different authors who have written upon it. Some ſay, there is nothing certain before the Trojan war; and that no compiler appeared, who was held in any degree of reputation, till above 500 years after it. Others there are, who date from the beginning of the olympiads; and many believe, that period in the annals of time, which is ennobled by the reign of our great CYRUS, the firſt, whoſe authority may be relied on. If thou ſhould ſuggeſt to thyſelf, that perhaps the writers, I am now ſpeaking of, lay no ſort of weight upon the credit of the oldeſt traditions, give me leave to add, that ſeveral have expoſed themſelves to the juſteſt cenſure by falling into the contrary extreme. Such as they, who ſtudious of ſhewing their regard to the ancient reformers, deliverers, or benefactors of

mankind, have overheated their imagination, quitted the common theatre of life, and ſoaring beyond the bounds of human probability, have loſt themſelves in thoſe clouds, to which they have exalted their heroes. I ſhall not pretend to determine, which of theſe are in the right; whether the latter, for fear of neglecting ſome hiſtorical facts, have not expreſſed too much dependance on the authority of the poets and tradition; or whether the former, for fear of giving into fiction and rhapſody, have not unreaſonably deſpiſed the authority of both. But this we may venture to pronounce, that in all the accounts, which have been given us of the firſt times, it is out of the power of any one to decide, where the fable concludes, or the truth begins.

I muſt own to thee, HYDASPES, I have often endeavoured to trace, in ſpeculation, the cauſe of that error and confuſion, which prevails among the precarious traditions of the Greek antiquity: and though the ſearch has too commonly ended in refinement, yet the very mention of it at preſent invites me to put down thoſe conjectures in writing, which have long exerciſed my thoughts in private.

In former ages, the Grecians are repreſented as ſavage and illiterate, poſſeſſed of no public annals or records, which alone can aſcertain the truth of hiſtorical facts, relying barely on traditional relations, unpractiſed in all the neceſſary arts of life and government. After ſome centuries it appears that they received the culture of humanity from Phœnician and Ægyptian colonies; by the firſt of whom they were inſtructed in trade, navigation, and the uſe of letters; by the laſt, they were initiated into civil wiſdom, the politer ſciences, and religious myſteries. Thou knoweſt, that the abſtruſeſt and moſt excellent part of the Ægyptian learning is allegorical; and it is generally believed, that many of their emblematical fables were tranſplanted into Greece, and embraced

with a ſuperſtitious regard by the ignorant multitude. The deſign of theſe allegories is, to conceal the important doctrines of religion from vulgar apprehenſion; and moſt of them bear a beautiful reſemblance to divers actions in hiſtory, or appearances in morals or in nature. Hence aroſe the number of monſtrous ſtories, concerning their deities and heroes, which the primitive Greek ſages (ſome of whom were informed in theſe points by the Ægyptians, who had ſettled among them, and others had travelled to the very colleges of the prieſts for information) underſtood and explained to their ſcholars. But when theſe ſtories fell afterwards into the hands of fanciful men, many new ones were added to the old ones, which defaced the beauty of the alluſions, and the allegorical ſenſe being perverted or forgot, the literal alone remains. Thus the ſhadow is preſerved inſtead of the ſubſtance; hiſtorical certainty has been loſt amidſt theſe emblematical fables, and the firſt inventors of allegory have vitiated and corrupted that truth, which they only intended to diſguiſe. In a word, the mythology of the Greeks is intermingled with their hiſtory, and is one principal cauſe of its uncertainty.

It has already been inſinuated, that the antient Greeks tranſmitted no original annals or records to poſterity, on which it were poſſible to ground an hiſtory of the early ages: but may I not be permitted to ſuppoſe, that had any genuine records of a nation, ſo long uncultivated as the Grecian, eſcap'd out of the ruins of barbarous antiquity, they would have proved too jejune and unintereſting to afford any good materials for an hiſtory? For indeed what could be expected from a country, one while overrun with ſpoil and rapine, where the inhabitants purſued no uniform method of life, continually wandring and unfix'd, like a lawleſs rout of ſavages? or what could be expected from a people, another while employed in the lingering work of reformation, en-

deavouring to lay aſide the rudeneſs of their manners, and to exert, though faintly, the rational faculties of their nature? Nothing, that would not have been unworthy the notice of future generations, and beneath the dignity of hiſtory to dwell upon. In order therefore to compenſate for this defect, the hiſtorians as well as rhapſodiſts, in treating of thoſe ages, have been obliged to make up in fiction, what they wanted in reality; and the firſt times are rather to be conſidered as a period adorned with the fables of poetry, than eſtabliſhed on undoubted monuments. But however the devices of fancy may delight and amuſe us, in reading of the dark ages I am now mentioning, they could never have contributed to our entertainment, had they been thrown into the accounts of ſucceeding times. 'Tis there we require ſomething more ſolid, nor ſhould we be inclined to bear with the overwrought productions of fable. For when the Grecians united in ſociety, and royalties and commonwealths were introduc'd, we find ourſelves arriving at greater certainty every ſtep we take, and the light of hiſtorical truth breaking in upon us, the further we advance. Nor will this be a matter of wonder to thee, HYDASPES, when thou conſidereſt, that the one may be regarded as the cauſe and parent of the other. 'Twas good government, which gave life and being to hiſtory, and the juſt legiſlator made way for the judicious annaliſt. For as in youth, while the judgment is unſteady, and the principles of men are forming, imagination is apt to ſupply the want of prudence; but when they come to years of maturer diſcretion, their cooler and more deliberate reaſon takes place: ſo the province of poetical invention is very wiſely ſeated in the infancy of the world, while the order of government was neglected, and mankind continued in a ſtate of nature; but when political ſocieties increaſed, and civil inſtitutions were formed, the intereſts and policy of contending ſtates opened at once a ſeries of ſurprizing ac-

tions, far excelling the legends of the poets, and preſented a fair topic to the pen of an hiſtorian. Adieu.

C.

LETTER XL.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS, Chief Scribe, &c.

AN univerſal ſorrow and confuſion reign at preſent in this city; the old and the young, the civil magiſtrate and the military officer, the private citizen, and the recluſe ſcholar, join equally in deploring the irretrievable misfortune, which has befallen Athens, and look upon themſelves as equally involved in its fatal conſequences. Thou mayſt at firſt imagine, potent lord, that the late devouring peſtilence has returned; that the naval force of this republic, its ornament and bulwark, has been defeated by the formidable fleet of Corinth; or that the victorious arms of Peloponneſus have waſted Attica with fire and ſword, and are now forming the ſiege of its metropolis. But none of theſe calamities have happened; and to detain thee no longer, thou wilt not, I believe, be ſurprized at ſo general a concern, when I inform thee that PERICLES is dead, whoſe counſels have ſet his countrymen at the head of Greece, whoſe ſteady conduct has carried them with honour through the greateſt difficulties, and whoſe military ſkill has given motion to their fleets and armies, during an adminiſtration of forty years. He died this evening at his houſe in the Ceramicus, of a fever, that has hung upon him for ſeveral months, and was occaſioned by a ſevere ſhock, which his conſtitution received from the plague, when it raged here, which all the art of phyſic, though exerted by HIPPOCRATES himſelf, could never reſtore. His greatneſs

of ſoul and natural flow of ſpirits made him diſregard the approaches of danger: he was ſeen every day in the aſſemblies of the people, exhorting them to continue the war with a vigour becoming the Athenian name, and pointing out to them the methods of ſupplying the expence of it. He uſed to ſit late in the ſenate, debating on projects for diſtreſſing the enemy, and ſecuring the commerce of Athens, or drawing up diſpatches for their commanders and miniſters abroad. He frequently viſited the fortifications and harbour; examined every thing with his own eyes, one while preſſing forward the equipment of their ſhips, through all the delays, which the manner of fitting them out here neceſſarily occaſions; at another reviewing the troops, and ſtrengthening the city with additional works; till at laſt, as the weakneſs of his body by no means anſwered the zeal of his heart for the public ſervice, he was obliged to leave off appearing abroad, and to call in that aſſiſtance from phyſic, which he had too long neglected.

Upon the firſt news of his confinement, crowds of people daily flocked to the temples, particularly thoſe of JUPITER THE COUNSELLER, and MINERVA the patroneſs of Athens, to ſolicit, with prayers and offerings, the continuance of ſo valuable a life, as the greateſt national bleſſing they could beſtow, and the ſtrongeſt proof, that Athens was ſtill under the protection and auſpicious influence of her guardian deities. During the ſhort gleams of hope, and quick returns of fear, which ſucceeded each other in the progreſs of the diſtemper, all public affairs were at a ſtand: no news from their armies or ſquadrons enquired after; and the truth of an old obſervation was verified, that mankind more ſenſibly perceive the excellence of any thing from the want than the enjoyment of it.

The behaviour of PERICLES, in the whole courſe of his illneſs, was compoſed and magnanimous, entirely conſiſtent

with the reſt of his life, and agreeable to the calm fortitude he had always ſhewn both in the adverſity and proſperity of his fortunes. I was myſelf a witneſs to a pretty remarkable incident. As ſome of his friends not many days before his death were ſitting in his chamber, and diſcourſing of his virtue and authority, his memorable actions, and the trophies he had ſet up, whilſt he commanded the armies of the republic, not imagining that he was then attending to their converſation; on the ſudden he called out to us, that all the circumſtances, which we had mentioned, were common to him with the other great men, whom Athens had produced and that beſides, fortune might lay claim to part of the merit of them: but, continued he, you have omitted what I moſt value myſelf upon, that in my whole adminiſtration none of my fellow-citizens ever wore mourning on my account. We, who were then preſent, were ſo moved with this ſpeech, that we melted into tears, which I dare ſay a man of PERICLES his ſenſe took for the higheſt panegyric we could beſtow, as I am ſure it was the moſt natural.

I have taken care to ſend away my diſpatch by a ſhip, that ſails immediately out of the port for Epheſus; and as the wind ſets fair, and the expreſs, who is charg'd with it, is uſed to expeditious journies, I doubt not but it will bring the earlieſt advice to the court of Perſia of this remarkable and intereſting event. Adieu.

From Athens. P.

LETTER XLI.

CLEANDER to MEGABYZUS, firſt miniſter to ARTAXERXES.

I have already, noble ſatrap, acquainted the chief ſcribe with the death of PERICLES, and the remarkable circumſtances that attended it. It will be now a very natural as well as uſeful ſpeculation, to take a general ſurvey of his life, to examine into the maxims of his politics, the methods by which he gained and preſerved his authority, and to lay open his temper and turn of mind. In doing this, I ſhall have recourſe both to the encomiums of his friends and the accuſations of his enemies; and endeavour to ſteer between the extremes of exalting ſo remarkable a character, through a mean compliance with the former, or derogating from the true merit of it, through a tincture of the envious diſpoſitions of the latter. I will neither heighten the colouring of the picture, or bring the ſhades too forward; but exhibit, as accurately as I can, a faithful yet not a diſagreeable likeneſs.

PERICLES was deſcended from the nobleſt families in Athens. His father XANTIPPUS defeated the Perſians at the famous battle of Mycale; his mother AGARISTE was grandaughter to CLISTHENES, who drove out the uſurping race of PISISTRATUS. It may ſeem ſurprizing, that a perſon, whoſe birth and education muſt have diſpoſed him to join with that part of the city, which was the moſt diſtinguiſhed for their families and fortunes, ſhould yet, upon his firſt appearance in buſineſs, embrace that of the people,

and ſteadily adhere to it in the courſe of his political conduct. But very ſufficient reaſons may be aſſigned for it: the principal of them was, that when he began to appear as a candidate for the offices and honours of the ſtate, CIMON was univerſally regarded as the champion of the ariſtocratical faction; and there was no other way to counterbalance his authority, or eſtabliſh his own upon the ruins of it, than by ſiding with the oppoſite party. He diſdained to be ſecond amongſt the former, when he could be firſt amongſt the latter. For the great maxim, which one may trace through all his actions, was to place his country at the head of Greece, and himſelf at the head of his country.

During the long and warm conteſts, which PERICLES maintain'd with CIMON, and afterwards with THUCYDIDES, the one illuſtrious for his military glory and liberal temper, the other well ſkilled in eloquence and civil policy, he ſhewed himſelf a moſt artful and deſigning ſtateſman. He induſtriouſly ſought out every method, that could fix a volatile forgetful people in his intereſts; and whilſt he was thus heated with oppoſition, and ſometimes perſonally endanger'd from the practices of his enemies, it muſt be own'd he too often conſulted what might ſerve the preſent occaſion, than what would turn to the future advantage of the public. Unable by his private fortunes to emulate the generous hoſpitality of CIMON, he propoſed, that a large fund of money, ſet apart for the neceſſities of a war, ſhould be diſtributed amongſt the poor citizens, every time they frequented the theatre at the repreſentation of a new play. It is no wonder, after he had procured a law, which paid them for going where their love of pleaſure alone would have invited them, that he ſhould be the author of another, which aſſigns a certain ſalary to them for doing their duty to their country, by attending the aſſemblies, and

ſerving in the courts of juſtice. Whilſt I am mentioning arts of this nature, which ſet PERICLES to view in the light rather of a ſelf-intereſted miniſter, than a uſeful patriot, to his country, I cannot omit his reducing the power of the venerable tribunal of the AREOPAGUS, which (as I hinted in a former * letter) he did with an intent to pay his court to the people, by throwing more power into their hands, and weakening that of the nobles his enemies; though at the ſame time the intereſt of the public ſuffered, by having the greateſt barrier againſt the natural licentiouſneſs of Athens almoſt entirely removed. The † magnificent buildings, fine ſtatues, and other public works, which were erected at ſuch a vaſt expence, in the courſe of his miniſtry, were owing to theſe motives; to gain the good will of the people in general, for having been the propoſer and inſpector of ſuch grand undertakings, which rendered their city the admiration and reſort of ſtrangers, and the chief ornament of Greece; to enrich the uſeful artiſt, and induſtrious mechanic, and by ſuch a circulation of labour and wealth, to employ thoſe citizens, whoſe poverty and factious diſpoſitions might have incited them to better their own conditions, by diſturbing the ſecurity of the public. Laſtly to acquire a reputation for himſelf, as durable and ſtriking as the works themſelves, which were brought to perfection in fewer years, than moſt people imagined they would be ages in finiſhing. One circumſtance indeed contributed to raiſe a great load of envy againſt him; it was, that in order to defray the immenſe charges of theſe works, he removed the public treaſure of Greece from Delos, where it uſed to be kept, to Athens, where he had himſelf the direction of it. His enemies, both foreign and domeſtic, had the moſt plauſible topic imaginable of accuſation againſt him, when they aſſerted the injuſtice of laying out the ſums contributed by the Grecian allies towards the expences of a Perſian war, in adorning

* Vide Letter XIII. † Ibid. XI. and XXXIV.

one particular city. PERICLES likewiſe rendered himſelf very popular by a uſeful ſcheme, which he propoſed, that a large ſquadron of gallies ſhould be ſent out every year, with a fix'd number of citizens on board in pay for eight months, in order to ſupply their colonies abroad, and ſail round the coaſt and iſlands of Greece, to collect the tributes paid by the allies to the Athenians. By putting this project in execution, two important ends were gained; the eſtabliſhing a perpetual nurſery for ſeamen, and the making the Athenian flag reſpected in whatever part of the ſea it was diſplayed. Thou canſt not wonder, potent miniſter, if by theſe methods, his commanding eloquence and ſingular art of managing popular aſſemblies, he not only ſtood his ground againſt CIMON and THUCYDIDES, but puſhed his advantages ſo far, as to baniſh them both by oſtraciſm. Yet he ſhewed his love for his country in the midſt of his reſentment, for before the term of CIMON's baniſhment was expired, he drew up himſelf a decree for recalling him at the earneſt deſire of the people, then preſſed with an unſucceſsful war againſt Lacedæmon. It is obſerv'd of PERICLES, that after he had ſurmounted all oppoſition, and got the management of affairs into his own hands, there was a remarkable change in his conduct: he was no longer ſo compliant with every demand of the people, or ſo ready to fall in with their notions, and contrive ſchemes merely to pay his court to them; but conſtantly purſued the regular plan of meaſures, which his prudence dictated, notwithſtanding their fickleneſs and diſcontent; and partly by the aſcendant he had gained over their minds, partly by the force of his oratory, obliged them to comply ſo entirely with whatever he propoſed, that the government of Athens, during his life-time, may be ſaid to have been in appearance popular, but in truth monarchical. And certainly, as it contributed not a little to fix the Athenian glory and power on a ſolid baſis, that the influence of a

ſingle man was an over-balance to all the inconveniences and uncertain politics of republican conſtitutions; ſo no man in the city deſerved to poſſeſs ſuch an influence but PERICLES. For his natural genius was ſtrong, penetrating, and extenſive, heightened by all the additional luſtre, that learning and philoſophy (which he chiefly owed to ANAXAGORAS) could afford; nor was he unacquainted with muſic and the politer arts. Theſe accompliſhments, joined to the politeneſs and dignity of his behaviour, endeared him to his fellow-citizens; but thoſe, which rendered him conſiderable amongſt them, were his maſterly talents of working upon their hopes and fears, ſo as, with the one to check their exceſſive confidence, when they were proudly elated with ſucceſs; with the other, to raiſe their drooping ſpirits, in conjunctures of difficulty and misfortune; and next, the uſe and comprehenſion of the political maxims, which he conſtantly inculcated: "as that "the Athenians, inſtead of waſting themſelves by foreign "expeditions, ſhould contend for the chief place among "the Grecian ſtates; that they ſhould take every oppor-"tunity of improving their naval force, and permitting "no other to lay claim to the dominion of the ſea; that "they ſhould maintain their dignity and honour to the "height, and ſuffer no inſults, however ſeemingly ſmall, "without making ſuitable returns, becauſe a tame and "paſſive behaviour in thoſe caſes only laid them open to "greater inſults." Theſe (if I may uſe the expreſſion) were the great outlines of his politics, and will, if attended to, afford us a ſurer clue to his conduct, than the calumnies of his enemies, and the idle ſcandal of the comic poets. Is it not, for inſtance, much more rational and fair, to attribute the war of Samos to the neceſſity, which he thought there was of humbling a people that had refuſed the Athenian mediation, and were able to diſpute the prize of naval

power with Athens herſelf, than to the intereſt of his miſtreſs ASPASIA, whoſe countrymen of Mitylene (it is pretended) had been injured by the Samians? Does he not appear to have acted for the good of his country, when he diſcouraged them from exhauſting their treaſures and money in diſtant ſchemes, againſt Sicily and Perſia, at a time when a danger nearer home threatened them? And whoever conſiders the ſtate of affairs in Greece, ſome years before the Peloponneſian war broke out, muſt be convinced, that the jealouſy of Sparta and her allies againſt the riſing empire of Athens, and the aſpiring ſpirit and arbitrary proceedings of the latter, were ſufficient of themſelves to excite the war, without any mixture of the private intereſt of PERICLES to inflame it; though as there was at that ſame juncture a more than ordinary ill humour ariſing againſt him, it is probable he fell in the more readily with the popular diſpoſitions for a war, in order to divert the ſtorm, that threatened himſelf. But this point I have already explained more at large on a former occaſion *.

In his military capacity he frequently expoſed his own perſon with great gallantry; but he was remarkably cautious of hazarding the troops under his command; and he never entered upon action, without leaving as little room as poſſible for the fickleneſs of fortune, or the effects of a happy temerity. However, though the merit of his exploits as a general will not place him in the ſame rank with THEMISTOCLES or CIMON, yet he ſet up nine trophies, whilſt he commanded the armies of the ſtate, and particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in gaining a great naval victory over the Samians.

* Vide Letter IV. and XXII.

Illuſtrious MEGABYZUS, as thou haſt already equalled this extraordinary miniſter in the extent and ſolidity of thy genius, and the importance of the ſervices, which thou haſt performed for thy prince and country, I can only wiſh, that thou mayeſt exceed him in length of days and increaſe of honour. Adieu.

From Athens. P.

LETTER XLII.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER. From Thebes.

HAVING familiariz'd myſelf much of late with the hieroglyphical imagery, in order to gain ſome knowledge of the ſacred characters, it has been my cuſtom to ſpend a few hours every day among the valuable monuments of learning in this place, from whence I now write to you, which is called the *ſacred Library*. It is an apartment belonging to that famous tomb of OSMANDUAS, which they boaſt of here (and I believe juſtly) for one of the moſt wonderful fabrics now ſtanding in the known world. This noble muſæum, the gallery adjoining, and the chamber of the gods and kings, far exceed in magnificence the palaces of living monarchs. Every ſtranger, upon his firſt coming into Ægypt, is ſtruck with wonder at the ſtatelineſs of their buildings; but more ſurprized, when he finds the moſt magnificent piles, no other than the repoſitories of a ſenſeleſs carcaſe or a dried mummy. But this is the humour that prevails among them; for though the ſtructure of their private houſes is admirable in its kind, eſpecially if

compared with the buildings in other countries, yet in their ſepulchres they far exceed them, leaving nothing undone that the moſt exquiſite art can contrive to beautify the latter. And though there appears ſomething ridiculous in this peculiarity, this fantaſtic pageantry in death, yet upon reflecting further we can't diſapprove of the principle, which may have given riſe to, or is at leaſt kept up among them by it, the ſetting a low value upon the ſhort time of this preſent life, and being only concerned for the reputation of their virtue after death. And I believe (though the worſhip of deified mortals was very early introduced) theſe magnificent ſepulchres have conſecrated the memory of many illuſtrious perſons, and in general were the firſt public temples. However, there is ſomething in this place extremely affecting to a contemplative mind; the lively figures of ſo many kings, heroes, and great men, as are here repreſented in company with the gods, in the ſame attitudes as if they were ſtill breathing, do, as it were, bring down all ages to the preſent inſtant, and ſtrike one's fancy in a pleaſing manner, rather to be felt than expreſs'd. And though I don't approve of their giving form to immortal beings, yet there is ſomewhat great and noble, in the thought of ranking illuſtrious perſonages amidſt immortal natures. Around that room, in which it is ſuppoſed, that the king's body lies interred, are curiouſly pictured, in ſeveral leſſer apartments, all the ſacred animals of Ægypt. * The whole building about the tomb is ten furlongs in circuit: at the firſt entrance, you are led through a portico of various coloured marbles two hundred feet in length, into a ſtone gallery of four hundred: it is ſupported with beaſts inſtead of pillars, each of one entire ſtone ſixteen cubits high, carved after the antique manner. The roof has an azure ſky beſpangled with ſtars. Paſſing through

* Diodor. Sicul.

this periſtylion you enter into another portico, which ſtill improves upon your admiration, with more curious carving and greater variety. At the entrance ſtand three ſtatues, the figures are wonderful, not only for their prodigious ſize, but for the beauty of the ſtone, and excellency of the workmanſhip, in which the proportions are ſo nicely preſerved, that the moſt diſcerning eye has never been able to diſcover the leaſt fault or blemiſh in them. The middle one in a ſitting poſture is the king OSMANDUAS, which is more than 7 cubits high; the other two, his daughter and mother ſtanding on each hand of him. The inſcription upon that of the king has, I think, juſtly challenged any other prince to excel him in any of his works. The ſecond gallery was much damaged by the ravages of CAMBYSES, yet there ſtill remain ſeveral pieces of ſculpture about it, which repreſent OSMANDUAS's wars with the Bactrians. In the firſt wall the king is ſeen aſſaulting a bulwark, environed with a river, which is generally taken for the Eulæus, that ſurrounds the citadel of Suſa. The ſculpture in the royal palaces of Suſa and Perſepolis is much the ſame with what I find here. They were both beautified with the ſpoils of Ægypt. But the Ægyptian buildings at Suſa are ſuppoſed to be * as ancient as the age of MEMNON, who was the ſon of OSMANDUAS, if not the ſame perſon. In the centre of this gallery is a periſtylion open to the air at top, and in it was raiſed a large altar of coſtly marble and excellent workmanſhip, but both the altar and the pillars of the periſtylion are much impair'd. Next is the gallery adjoining to this muſæum, in which, is to be ſeen the king adorned in his moſt gorgeous robes, offering a tribute of gold and ſilver to the gods. And in the apartment beyond, where he is ſuppoſed to lie buried, begins a ſtately aſcent leading to the top of the whole monument,

* Strabo, l. xv.

over which was formerly a border of gold of three hundred and ſixty-five cubits in compaſs and a cubit thick, but it was carried away by CAMBYSES, and the place is ſince ſupplied by one of braſs of the ſame dimenſions. Within the diviſion of every cubit are the ſeveral days of the year engraven, with the riſings and ſettings of the ſtars, and the effects portended by them. † For the Theban prieſts have been very exact in regulating the courſe of the year, having found ſo great a variation occaſioned by the lunar reckonings. For twelve revolutions of the moon not being equal to the ſolar cycle, the months muſt of neceſſity by degrees change their place, and in a great number of years the feſtival, which was fixed to the beginning of the ſummer ſolſtice, would be removed into the midſt of the winter. Obſerving this defect they ſaw a neceſſity of adding five days to the end of every twelve months, which they reckoned at thirty days each, to make up the courſe of the year; of which they gave an account under the diſguiſe of this fable. ‡ MERCURY being once at dice with the moon, he got from her the 72d part of the year, which he afterwards added to the 360 days, which were anciently the days of the year, and therein celebrated the feſtivals of their gods. Thence the names of theſe ſeveral additional days were taken from the gods; the firſt was called OSIRIS, it being celebrated in honour of him; the ſecond ARUERIS, dedicated to the ſenior ORUS; the third to TYPHO; the fourth to ISIS; the fifth to NEPTHÆ, the wife of TYPHO and ſiſter to ISIS. The prieſts, who are curious to preſerve an exact regiſter of time among themſelves, though leſs concerned to rectify the inaccuracies of the vulgar, have by continual obſervations, ſince thoſe additional days were taken in, diſcovered, that there wanted ſtill ſix hours in every year to render it complete. For this reaſon in

† Ibid. l. xvii. ‡ Plutar. de Iſid. & Oſir.

their hieroglyphical manner, when they would expreſs a year, they name a quadrant, becauſe from one riſing of SOTHIS the dog-ſtar to another, the fourth part of a day is added; ſo that by their moſt exact calculations the year conſiſts of 365 days and a * quadrant, or the 4th part of a day, which every fourth year makes the intercalation of a day neceſſary.

But as the Ægyptians by a ſuperſtitious uſage, which the prieſts willingly indulge them in, muſt have their feſtivals run through every day in the year, the civil year is ſtill left according to the 365 cubital ſegments, without any reckoning of a ſupernumerary day in the fourth year. † The burying-places of the ancient kings, which lie above the Memnonium, and are cut by moſt exquiſite art in the natural rock, have not eſcaped my notice. The obeliſcs found in thoſe repoſitories declare their power and greatneſs, their numerous armies, and the tribute they impoſed upon conquered nations. Indeed there is nothing about Thebes of note, which I have not made the ſubject of obſervation. My quality in Perſia entitles me to a handſome reception every where in Ægypt; but the humanity of PHARNUCES the governor of Thebes is more than an ordinary friendſhip; it is by his means I have had the eaſieſt acceſs, wherever my curioſity led me. I have often wondered at his generous and diſintereſted regard for a ſtranger, and ſhall always think of it with gratitude: he courts my ſtay, and fails not to make it agreeable. I told him lately, I had through his favour gratified my curioſity ſufficiently, and ſhould ſhortly take a little ramble in the neighbourhood of Thebes, as far as Syene, before I ſet forwards for Heliopolis. Yes, ORSAMES, ſaid he with a ſmile, but you are miſtaken, if you think you have ſeen

* Horapollo, Hierogl. l. 1, c. 5. Diodor. Sicul. l. 1. † Strabo. l. xvii.

Thebes: upon which he gave orders to his ſervants, that a barge ſhould be ready, when I pleaſed, to carry me over the river to Tentyra, and that I ſhould be conducted to the top of ‡ Isis's temple. I knew Pharnuces too well, to think any propoſal of his deſerved to be neglected: accordingly one morning, when the air was very clear, I paſſed over to Tentyra, a ſmall city, if compared to Thebes. It ſtands on a hill on the oppoſite ſhore. The temple of Isis is its moſt conſiderable building, and well deſerves a particular deſcription, if the many works of this kind did not make that tedious. I ſhall only obſerve, that the whole front lies in the ſame line, except one large portico, which projects in the middle. On each ſide from the portico run three ranges of granate columns, which form a noble piazza, and ſupport the building. The columns are of an extraordinary height, and the circumference ſuch as ſeven men could ſcarce fathom, from whence I ſhall leave you to judge of the magnificence of the whole. As ſoon as I reached the top of the temple, I ſaw plainly, why my friend Pharnuces had told me, I had not yet ſeen Thebes. Here I was raiſed by the advantage of the ground and the additional height of the temple; I ſaw the Nile under me interſperſed with ſmall iſlands, none of which were unoccupied near ſo wealthy a city. Some ſerved for ſtations to ſmall veſſels, and contained the hutts of fiſhermen; others planted with fruits and vegetables to ſupply the town; and ſome adorned with the houſes of wealthy citizens, and laid out into commodious gardens. The numberleſs veſſels, that paſſed by them continually, diſcovered ſomething

‡ The ruins of this temple are ſtill extant according to the relations of modern travellers, who ſay it was a temple of Serapis; but as the worſhip of that god was not introduced into Ægypt, till the reign of king Ptolemy, many ages after this period of time, we muſt ſuppoſe it was originally dedicated to Isis, and afterwards turned to the worſhip of Serapis Note by the tranſlator.

very new and pleaſing, and ſet before me the whole traffic of Ægypt; all whoſe great cities lying on the banks of the Nile uſe this one channel for the conveyance of their merchandize, and as far as my eye could reach north and ſouth, the ſcene of buſineſs was continued. But I was ſent hither to take a view of Thebes, an object too large (as PHARNUCES thought) whilſt I was in the midſt of it, and therefore very judiciouſly ſet me at this diſtance. The air was clear, and a briſk wind diſperſed the ſmoke of the city, which lay ſtretched on the oppoſite bank, and riſing before me toward the eaſtern mountains. I had made myſelf acquainted with its different quarters, and knew its moſt conſiderable ſtructures; ſo was better fitted for ſuch a view, and could take it in without confuſion. The temples and palaces preſented themſelves to me like lofty cedars above the reſt of the foreſt; and I now could obſerve ſome proportions in thoſe great works, which before were loſt to me, becauſe I viewed them by parts; and what filled me chiefly with aſtoniſhment only, now ſhewed beauty, order, and exquiſite deſign. Thoſe vaſt ſtatues and prodigious groups of figures ſeemed fit ornaments in their place. I could from hence, by my extenſive proſpect, ſee the wiſdom of the founder of this city in the choice of its ſituation, in regard to its accommodations and ſecurity. Two or three days after I went to PHARNUCES, to inform him of my intended journey; he ſaid, he wiſhed I could have found any thing to have detained me longer, and aſked me, how I liked my proſpect from ISIS's temple? I anſwer'd, it was above all I had met with before; I had ſeen the handſome ſtreets of Thebes, noble palaces, curious obeliſcs, ſtatues, and temples, but never could have formed the idea that proſpect imprinted on my mind. He ſtept out of the room, and immediately brought the very proſpect I have been deſcribing painted upon linnen, and ſeveral draughts of the remarkable edifices of Syene (which I had not ſeen) telling me, theſe, he fancied

might vie with the maſter pieces of Greece; and as I ſhould have an opportunity of making the compariſon, deſired my acceptance of them; which I ſhall preſerve with the utmoſt care, not more on account of their value than my eſteem for PHARNUCES. For his ſake I ſhould leave Thebes with reluctance, did I not hope thereby to furniſh myſelf with materials for ſo agreeable a correſpondence as CLEANDER's. Farewell.

L. & H.

LETTER XLIII.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

IN my laſt letter, HYDASPES, I endeavoured to offer thee ſome reaſons for the fabulous uncertainty of the Grecian hiſtory in the earlieſt ages; and I concluded with applying one general remark to this particular nation, *viz.* that the introduction of civil government into the world, gave riſe to hiſtorical truth. I would obſerve in the next place, that it can hardly be ſaid till very lately, that any hiſtorian hath appeared amongſt them; *i. e.* any man, who deſerves the name of an hiſtorian, ſince moſt of thoſe writings, which are entitled hiſtories, may ſcarce be conſtrued to extend beyond a naked regiſter of public events.

What other character can be given of the works of ARCHILOCHUS, or THEAGENES of Rhegium? Will the Cretan hiſtory of XENON, or the Lydian kings of XANTHUS the Sardian plead admittance for them into the libraries of the learned? Can the Theogony of ARISTEAS lay claim to our eſteem, or DAMASTES of Sigeum be remember'd to poſterity

from his treatiſe of nations and cities? Equally fabulous and dry, we can neither reflect on them after a ſerious peruſal with ſatisfaction, nor propoſe them as models for imitation. HECATÆUS the Mileſian and HELLANICUS of Mitylene have within theſe fifty years improved and reformed hiſtorical knowledge to a great degree; but even then it might be regarded only as in the dawn: the honour of carrying it to any kind of perfection was reſerved to HERODOTUS. For if we conſider the variety of his learning, and the copiouſneſs of his ſubject, the ſmoothneſs of his ſtile, and the perſpicuity of his narration, we ſhall find that the fiction of the poets and the dull annals of laborious compilers will bear no proportion either in profit or in pleaſure, when compared with his hiſtory. He begins it with CANDAULES and CYRUS, and brings it down to the battle of Mycale towards the latter end of XERXES's reign, which comprehends the ſpace of 120 years. Beſides the ſtory of the Greeks and Perſians, which is the main argument of his work, he throws in that of other nations, by way of epiſode or digreſſion. This extraordinary perſon was born at Halicarnaſſus, a Grecian colony in the leſſer Aſia, not long before the invaſion of Greece by the armies of XERXES. In his youth, he retired from his native city to Samos, in order to avoid the arbitrary proceedings of LYGDAMIS, the grandſon of the famous ARTEMISIA, who acquitted himſelf with ſo much honour in the naval engagement at Salamis. 'Twas there he formed himſelf upon the dialect of IONIA, and compil'd his hiſtory. This was indeed a place more peculiarly fitted to his purpoſe; for as in every democratical government, ſo in that of Samos, a man is neither biaſſed by hopes nor by fears, and is at liberty to commend, without the leaſt imputation of flattery, and to cenſure, without that of malice or detraction. In the mean while he ſpared no pains to inform himſelf of all that was neceſſary, in the beſt manner which he could. To this end he travelled into Ægypt, ſurvey'd its chief towns,

converſed with the prieſts of Thebes and Memphis, and penetrated into the principles of their religion and learning, as far as his own ſagacity could carry him, and their recluſeneſs would permit him. He travelled through the ſeveral cantons and republics of Greece, ſaw the principal cities of Aſia, and viſited the borders of Thrace, Scythia, and Arabia. Returning however after a long voluntary exile into his own country, he bore a conſiderable part in the expulſion of the tyrant; but meeting with envy from his fellow-citizens, inſtead of that gratitude, which he expected as the juſt reward of his ſervices, he came to Athens; and after about a twelvemonth's ſtay here, departed into Italy with a colony of Athenians, to build a city called Thurium, near the ruins of the antient Sybaris. As ſoon as he had drawn up his hiſtory from the materials he had collected with ſuch infinite diligence and induſtry, he determined to expoſe it to the judgment of all Greece. It happened, that during his reſidence at Athens, beſides the feaſt of Panathenæa, where he read over his work aloud, the Olympian exerciſes were then performing, to which the Grecians reſorted in general from each ſtate, and thus he had a very fair opportunity given him to put his deſign in execution. Many of his auditors had no doubt been perſonally engaged in ſome of the battles againſt XERXES and MARDONIUS, and not one of them could be unacquainted with the principal facts of a war, ſo honourable to Greece, and ſo inglorious to Perſia. In the midſt of this aſſembly he declared, that he appeared before them, not ſo much a ſpectator of their games, as a competitor for the prize of reputation; and recited his work publicly a ſecond time with univerſal applauſe and approbation. Nothing can be a greater teſtimony of this applauſe, than that the names of the nine muſes have been given to the nine books of his hiſtory, as if the compoſition were above the ſtandard of humanity, and the joint labour of thoſe celebrated divinities.

If, after a judgment ſo unanimous, and in every reſpect ſo valuable, I may be allowed to add my own, I muſt freely confeſs, HYDASPES, that I have received more inſtruction from the hiſtory of HERODOTUS, than from any author within the little ſphere of my obſervation. Every part of the narrative ſuggeſted matter of entertainment to the imagination and uſeful improvement to the mind. I conſidered myſelf one while as under the protection and guidance of the moſt eminent heroes of antiquity, as having their bright example before my eyes, and in the future courſe of my actions attending to the noble principles, which influenced their conduct in life. I conſidered myſelf another while as a citizen of the world at large; as diveſted of every national prejudice or falſe biaſs, while the great men of paſt ages ſubmitted to my cenſure; and in my own breaſt I pronounced an impartial and diſintereſted ſentence on their characters. In each of theſe views, hiſtory may be called the ſchool, where the living, that would be wiſe, are the ſcholars; where the dead, as well the fools as the wiſe, are frequent leſſons of courage and experience to generals, of prudence and fidelity to miniſters, of moderation and juſtice to kings. Hence every perſon, in his private capacity, may learn to merit the diſtinguiſhing name of a man; and princes are warned, that they are no more than men, and that fame is always juſt to the dead, however partial to the living. In ſhort, nothing can be more agreeable, than by the means of hiſtory to accompany MILTIADES at Marathon, THEMISTOCLES at Salamis, or CIMON at Mycale. To be placed as a ſpectator out of all hazards; to reap wiſdom from the danger of others; to regulate what one has to do by what has been done; to foretel the future by the paſt; and thus to become a diviner, without magic; and a prophet, without inſpiration. But I forbear to ſay any thing farther on this theme: thou muſt pardon me, HYDASPES, for having troubled thee ſo long;

but it was impoſſible for me not to enlarge on the excellence and utility of hiſtory, when I was ſpeaking of the man, who hath firſt placed it in its true dignity and luſtre. Adieu.

From Athens. C.

LETTER XLIV.

GOBRYAS to CLEANDER.

AS I had no particular commands to deliver to thee, I have neglected to write to Athens for ſome time; and to ſay the truth, my CLEANDER, thy diligence is ſuch, that it leaves us nothing to hope for on the ſide of information; and thy ſagacity is ſo great, that it anticipates the wiſeſt inſtructions of the miniſters. Think not that I mean to flatter thee; for as thou knoweſt me to be framed of a temper above indulging that vice, even to the weakeſt of princes, it would ill become me, when I am ſpeaking to a man of ſenſe. The cruel proceedings of the Athenians againſt the Peloponneſian ambaſſadors have not deterred the Lacedæmonians from ſending another to this court in their ſtead. His name, it ſeems, is PYRACMON. As ſoon as he arrived here, he addreſſed himſelf to thy friend HYDASPES, the chamberlain, telling him, he was a Spartan by nation, and demanded an audience of the king. HYDASPES acquainted him with the ceremony of proſtration, which it is abſolutely neceſſary that all ſhould comply with, who are willing to be admitted into the chamber of preſence. "For, ſays he, we are ordered by "the law, to adore our ſovereign, as the living image of

" the Deity, which ſuſtains and preſerves the univerſe." To which the other anſwered with the Laconic brevity and pride; " I will do nothing that ſhall be thought a diſhonour " to my country;" and therefore an audience was refuſed him. However, he has had ſeveral conferences with MEGABYZUS and myſelf; but his behaviour and his inſtructions are both ſo reſerved, that it is impoſſible for us to learn any particulars of moment from him. His only buſineſs, as far as I can collect it from all which he has ſaid, is, to put the king to a fruitleſs expence, without offering any ſuitable recompence; and to aſk for ſupplies, without propoſing any mutual advantages to Perſia. This requeſt, thou mayſt eaſily conjecture, is regarded as wild and extravagant; beſides it is not conſiſtent with the political views of our court, and the reſolution of the Perſian council, to interfere in the civil broils and diſſentions of Greece, while the leading republics are deſtroying one another upon equal terms. It will be our part, whenever that time ſhall come, to throw ourſelves into the ſcale of the weakeſt; an argument, which has already been fully treated of in a former * letter, and upon that account will more properly be waved at the preſent.

I agree with thee, that the removal of PERICLES was an act of folly, and his ſudden reſtoration to the higheſt offices in the commonwealth was at once an inſtance of the wiſdom and inconſtancy of the Athenian people; but as I was not ſurprized at the one, ſo I could not wonder at the other. I was extremely pleaſed with the relation, which thou gaveſt me of thy viſit to that excellent ſtateſman, on thy return from Salamis; nor was I without hopes, that by the dexterity and politeneſs of thy converſation, thou mighteſt have procured ſome material intelligence from him. And yet how

* Vide Letter XIV. and XXIV.

precarious is every proſpect of human happineſs! Soon after his reſtoration, we were told of the waſting diſeaſe, that preyed upon him; and lo! thy next brought the moving narrative of his death. Senſible as I was, that Greece had loſt her ableſt politician, and that the moſt powerful obſtacle to the deſigns of ARTAXERXES was removed, I could not help yielding for a moment to the ſoft impreſſions of tenderneſs and ſorrow. The unaffected encomium, which he beſtowed upon himſelf, before he died, gave me the ſtrongeſt idea I had ever entertained of his mild and equitable adminiſtration. PERICLES was above the genius of the city, that produced him; for he ſeemed born to monarchical ſway, notwithſtanding providence had placed him in a republican ſtate. Such however was his influence, that though in effect he ſettled the moſt important points according to his own inclinations, yet his own inclinations were guided by the trueſt diſcretion, and conſiſtent with the moſt perfect freedom. Well might he then be reverenced as the father of his country, a name, which he expreſſed, not in any royal formality of titles, but in the real courſe of his government. Thus much, I think, thou mayeſt reaſonably expect from me, as a due tribute of praiſe to the character of a good miniſter in the ſervice of his country, and to the memory of a great man, though an enemy to Perſia.

The ſiege of Platea, according to the accounts I have received of the place, will laſt, in all probability, a conſiderable while longer. It is certainly a town of conſequence to the Athenians, and deſerves well of them, for its ſteady adherence to their intereſt in the preſent war, and of all Greece, for its inviolable attachment to the common cauſe. Fail not to ſend the earlieſt news of the motions of PHORMIO's fleet. In the mean time forget not to inform thyſelf of the intrigues in the city, and who is likely to

ſucceed PERICLES in the popular eſteem and adminiſtration. But theſe things I forbear to enlarge upon, and therefore entruſt thee to the ſafe dictates of thy own obſervation and prudence. In ſhort, I have nothing to add further, than the ſincereſt expreſſions of the pleaſure, which I take in thy approved capacity for buſineſs, and the ſtrongeſt exhortation I can give thee, to perſevere in the ſame courſe of fidelity and obedience. Be aſſured, CLEANDER, this alone will recommend thee to the protection of OROMASDES, and the favour of our mighty maſter, for whoſe health I pray, before the morning walks over the dews of eaſtern hills, and after the ſun ſinks into the oceans of the weſt. Adieu.

From Babylon. C.

LETTER XLV.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS, Chief Scribe, &c. From Athens.

THE military operations of this campaign prove a great deal more active, than thoſe of the two former; whether it is that the animoſities of the contending ſtates, inſtead of decaying, grow more vigorous, by the continuance of the war; or that the hopes, which were formerly entertained of peace, being quite vaniſhed ſince the fruitleſs negotiations of laſt year, the various parties, that prevail in theſe republics, are agreed to give a different turn to their private reſentments, by exerciſing them only againſt the common enemy.

I intend this diſpatch ſhall contain an exact account of ſuch material events, as have happened ſince the death of PERICLES.

The Peloponneſian army is ſtill employed, or rather waſting itſelf, at the ſiege of Platæa, with no great profit to themſelves, or damage to their enemies. The laſt letters from thence ſay, that the beſieged have lately made a vigorous ſally, and undermined a mount, which the beſiegers had raiſed to plant their engines upon, and command the rampart of the place.

An account is arrived here of an unſucceſsful expedition, which the Ambraciots and Spartans have made againſt Acarnania. It was projected by the former, in conjunction with the Chaonians and ſome other Barbarians, who inhabit the frontiers of Greece towards Macedonia. They perſuaded the Lacedæmonians to ſend them a thouſand men, under the command of CNEMUS an officer of good reputation; whilſt the Corinthians and the other allies were preparing a large fleet with tranſports to join them, and complete the conqueſt of Acarnania. CNEMUS imagining he ſhould overrun the country upon the firſt inroad, ſet forward without ſtaying for this reinforcement, with his army drawn up in three columns. As he advanced towards Straton, the metropolis of Acarnania, the inhabitants made a briſk attack upon a column of Chaonians, who led the van, and were imprudently marched forward ſome leagues beyond the reſt of the army. Theſe barbarians made no great reſiſtance, and were intirely routed; which ſo diſcouraged CNEMUS, that he retreated with ſome precipitation, leſt he ſhould be intercepted by the ſuccours, that were aſſembling for the relief of Straton.

The ſatisfaction, which the Athenians expreſs at the failure of this enterprize, which however well conducted could have affected them but very remotely, is much heightened by the news they received yeſterday of a naval victory, which their fleet, commanded by PHORMIO, has gained over that of the Corinthians. The firſt notice they received of it was by ſeeing a trireme enter the harbour Piræeus with the uſual marks of ſucceſs. The officers and ſailors were ranked upon the deck crown'd with garlands, and filled the air with repeated acclamations. The ſhip herſelf was hung with wrecks of ſhattered veſſels of the enemy, and adorned with trophies of arms, whilſt the oars kept time to the harmony of muſical inſtruments. Great multitudes of people flocked inſtantly to enjoy this agreeable ſpectacle from the ſhore. The captain, whoſe name is DIOMEDON, landed and went directly to the Prytaneum (or town-houſe, where the Prytanes have a plain repaſt prepared every day for them at the public charge) and delivered his letters into their hands. Theſe magiſtrates immediately aſſembled the ſenate; and after the letters had been read there, they were communicated to the impatient people in an extraordinary aſſembly that very evening. To-morrow is appointed as a day of thankſgiving at all their temples for this ſucceſs. I have obtained a copy of the diſpatch ſent by PHORMIO, with an account of the action, which I have encloſed in this packet. It ſhews as well the experience and ſpirit of the admiral, as the honeſt plainneſs of a true Athenian; and therefore I imagined, noble ſcribe, that a ſight of it would not be diſagreeable to thyſelf and the reſt of the Perſian council. Adieu.

P.

LETTER XLVI.

PHORMIO to the ſenate and people of Athens.

I received the orders you ſent me to prevent the fleet of Corinth and the other confederates from joining with CNEMUS and the Ambraciots; and hope you will not be diſſatisfied with the manner, in which I have executed them. Upon the firſt advice, that they were ſailed from the Criſſæan gulph, I weighed anchor from Naupactus with 20 gallies, in order to attend their motions, and came up with them juſt as they were got out of the Streights. As ſoon as we deſcried their fleet, which conſiſted of forty-ſeven ſail under the command of three admirals, making the beſt of its way from Patræ to the oppoſite continent of Acarnania, I held a council of war with the other captains; in which it was determined, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of number lay on their ſide, to venture an engagement. We conſidered, that they were rather furniſhed for the land ſervice, than a naval action; and that the goodneſs of our ſhips and the experience and courage of our ſeamen would be an over balance to our being inferior in point of force. Accordingly on the twentieth of the month Thargelion in the morning, the ſails were ordered to be ſtruck, the rowers to lower themſelves under the deck, the ſoldiers to repair to their reſpective ſtations, and the ſquadron to fall into line of battle. The enemy, obſerving that they could not eſcape us without fighting, drew up their fleet in the form of a roundel, placing the larger veſſels on the outſide as a defence to the tranſports, which were diſpoſed in the midſt. Five of their ſwifteſt galleys were

likewiſe ordered to be ready to ſally out upon us through the vacant ſpaces of the line, in whatever part we ſhould make an impreſſion. In this poſture we continued ſome time, till an eaſterly wind, which blows every morning out of the gulph, ariſing, I obſerved that their fleet was not only contracted by it into a narrower compaſs, but their order conſiderably diſturbed. I thought this favourable opportunity not to be omitted, and therefore ordered the ſignal of battle to be hung out, and the trumpets to ſound a charge from the admiral ſhip, which was immediately follow'd round the reſt of the ſquadron. The firſt encounter was pretty rough; a Corinthian ſhip commanded by MACHON, one of the admirals, endeavoured to break my oars; but I avoided the ſhock, and after giving her a volley of darts and ſtones, bore down upon her poop, and flung a bridge over her, and notwithſtanding a ſmart oppoſition, enter'd ſoldiers on board her, when ſhe ſurrender'd. In the mean time the reſt of the ſquadron broke into the enemies line, and diſperſed their whole fleet: DIOMEDON trierarch of the *Thetis*, and DEMOSTHENES trierarch of the *Nereids*, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a peculiar manner. The former, though he was attacked by two of the enemies ſhips, who attempted to board him with grappling irons, repulſed them both, put the one to flight, and ſunk the other. The latter ſhatter'd ſeveral of the Corinthian ſhips, and always ſtretched a head after the flyers; leaving thoſe he had damaged, for others that followed him to take. In general, your officers and ſoldiers behaved themſelves with a gallantry and ſkill becoming Athenians. We have made ourſelves maſters of twelve ſhips and a great many priſoners, and after erecting a trophy and conſecrating a galley to NEPTUNE at Molycricum returned to Naupactus, from whence I have diſpatched DIOMEDON with this account. I cannot conclude, without preſſing you in the moſt earneſt manner, to ſend me a large and ſpeedy reinforcement, or

elſe the preſent ſucceſs can never turn to any future advantage. Your enemies, far from being diſcouraged, redouble their preparations. The remainder of the conquered fleet are rendezvouſed at Cyllene the arſenal of the Eleans, where they have been joined by CNEMUS and BRASIDAS, whom the Lacedæmonians have ſent with ſupplies of men and money. They give out, that they ſhall ſoon be able to put to ſea with ſeventy ſail.

Wherefore, Athenians, let not any delays proceeding from faction or intereſt, retard the courſe of your buſineſs, and produce inconveniencies, which in former times have proved highly detrimental to you, and may be fatal now. Conſider how ungrateful it would be towards the gods, not to ſecond the proſperous beginning they have ſent you; how inexcuſable towards yourſelves, if you do not maintain the empire of the ſea, which your anceſtors tranſmitted down to you in full luſtre at the price of ſo much blood; and how unaccountable it muſt appear in the eyes of all Greece, if the victors are not as ſolicitous to improve their advantages, as the vanquiſhed to repair their loſſes. Farewell.

From on board the MINERVA quinquireme, P.
in the harbour of Naupactus.

LETTER XLVII.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER. From Syene in Thebais.

THE reports I had heard of the wonderful cataract and other natural curioſities about this place, incited me to make an excurſion hither, before I ſet forward on my journey into the lower Ægypt. But here, I can aſſure you, my excurſion terminates, leſt you might ſuſpect, that I am going further into the barren wilds of Æthiopia, or the burning ſands of Libya. And I am not ſorry it has led me ſo far, as I can hereby impart to you ſome new diſcoveries relating to the Ægyptian worſhip, which I believe are yet unknown in Greece, not many of that country having extended their travels to theſe remote corners of Ægypt. Beſides that, they are of ſuch a nature, as the ſuperſtitious Greeks would not be much intereſted in making. For although thoſe, who travel, are generally men of better ſenſe, and underſtandings elevated above the vulgar, yet are they cautious of divulging any of their diſcoveries, which might help to undeceive the more ignorant. I had often heard at Thebes, * that the people further up in Thebais paid nothing towards the charge of thoſe animals uſed there and in the lower Ægypt in the ſervice of the inferior gods. I have wondered much, why they in particular were exempted, but never could be rightly informed of the reaſon of ſo peculiar an exemption, until I came to this place; ſo careful are the prieſts and devotees of that

* Plut. de Iſid, & Oſir.

ſuperſtitious worſhip to conceal and diſguiſe every thing, that it is not their intereſt to publiſh. Upon coming hither I was ſenſible of a great change from that pomp and pageantry, with which the religious of other parts in Ægypt have ſo extravagantly overloaded the worſhip of their gods. When I entered one of their temples, I was ſtruck with the awful ſolemnity of the place; and it raiſed in me a devout ſeriouſneſs, which all the ſculpture and ſenſible repreſentations of the gods had never before done in thoſe I had elſewhere ſeen. There was ſomething plain and ſimple in its ornaments, yet what taken together ſeemed great and auguſt, and extremely well adapted to excite a mechanical devotion; for I cannot call that otherwiſe, which is excited by any thing leſs than the pure contemplation of OROMASDES, when the mind abſtracts itſelf from all material objects, and ſeeks no other temple but its own breaſt. A few hieroglyphics and emblematical figures were raiſed in ſculpture from the walls; * and the Æthiopians, of whom the Syenites are a part, aſcribe to themſelves the invention of it. One figure preſents itſelf at the entrance, which is pretty remarkable, but ſeems placed there rather to characteriſe the powers and attributes, than intended for the ſhape and figure of the divinity they worſhip. † It was a ſerpent with an hawk's head; but the account I received from them of their religion was this, ‡ "That they owned no mortal "being to be god, but their god CNEPH; and him they "aſſerted to be without beginning and without end, the "maker and governor of the univerſe." The ſerpent ſeems to ſymbolize that ſpirit and vivific energy, which is by him diffuſed through all nature. And thus, ſay they, we are taught by EPEIS, our greateſt hierophant and ſcribe, "that

* Diodor. Sicul. l. 2.

† Philo. Bybl. Euſeb. l. 1. p. 47. c. edit. Par.

‡ Plut. de Iſid. & Oſir.

" the firſt moſt divine being is as a ſerpent having an hawk's " head, beautiful to look on, who, if he opens his eyes, " fills the univerſe with light; if he winks, darkneſs is made." However, in religion I cannot approve even of this emblematical imagery; for by uſing it in order to bring down myſterious truths to the level of common underſtandings, we are too apt to materialize in our thoughts the nature of the divine being. And I am afraid, it has but too often led the way to that ſenſeleſs ſuperſtition and worſhip of animals, which extravagantly prevails in moſt other parts of this country. Yet it gives me pleaſure to find, that amidſt all theſe corruptions the notion of one ſupreme deity is not totally and univerſally obliterated; and that the ſame good dæmon, whom we call OROMASDES, the great author of the world, is not only adored among us in Perſia, but his worſhip ſtill preſerved even amidſt all the monſtrous rites and ſuperſtitions of Ægypt. It may not be unworthy of your notice, what with much prying into their ancient learning I have in general collected, and which I am under no reſtrictions not to reveal to you, *viz.* that the firſt THOTH, or MERCURY, whoſe remains are preſerved on their pillars and in their ſacred books, never ſo much as mentions the ſupreme Deity, who is above all things, or names him in the making of the world; * and only aſcribes divinity to certain mortal men and women, and thoſe ſuch as cannot be applauded from the ſtory of their exploits either for wiſdom or virtue, and ſome of them notorious for the worſt of vices. But the Hierophants ſay here, that a ſecond HERMES, at leaſt nine hundred years later than the firſt, ſaw reaſon and neceſſity to reform and diſſent from the falſe coſmogony, that had been introduced by him, who attempted to explain the generation of things by certain principles in a chaos, without any help from the firſt and eternal mover. And of this latter HERMES, who

* Sanchon. fragment. apud Euſeb. Auguſt. de Civ. Dei. c. 7.

was called SIPHOAS *, the ſon of HEPHÆSTUS, and who reigned over all Ægypt, they preſerve here at Syene certain remains. But the Ægyptian prieſts in general deny, that this ſecond MERCURY diſſented from the firſt. They ſay, † he took great pains to collect thoſe invaluable treaſures of learning, which the firſt MERCURY left in different places inſcribed on pillars in the hieroglyphical characters, and which had lain neglected during the confuſion of the intermediate times; and after he had made a complete collection, ordered them to be laid up in a book in the ſacred reveſtries. Though theſe ſpeculations have much engroſſed my thoughts ſince my coming to Syene, I have not omitted ſeeing thoſe curioſities in the neighbourhood of this place, which brought me hither, though ſtraitned for time after ſo long a ſtay at Thebes. I ſailed in an open galley to Elephantine, an iſland in the Nile about one hundred and twenty ſtadia ſouth from Syene, a little above which is the famous cataract; and there ends the navigation of the Nile. The river having paſt Ethiopia, where it leaves many lakes and marſhes by the diſperſion of its waters, at laſt recollects its ſcatter'd ſtreams from Phile, a rocky iſland on its eaſtern ſide; ‡ and rolls on from thence, till near to Elephantine it is oppoſed by a chain of rocks, that lie acroſs its channel. Daſhed againſt them and grown impetuous, it mounts in foaming waves, and after ſtruggling amidſt the broken cliffs and craggy precipices, pours down from an immenſe height with a ſtupendous roaring and noiſe. § But the incredible boldneſs of the people there is not leſs to be wondered at, who expoſe themſelves to the raging current in ſmall boats two together, the one ſteering, the other rowing; and paſſing the ſtreights of the rock by little channels, ruſh headlong with the ſtream to the amazement of the

* Syncell. 114. a.

† Manetho. apud Euſeb.

‡ Seneca natur. quæſt. l. iv. ed. Lipſ. p. 747. B. C.

§ Ibid. p. 748

beholders: for after giving them for loſt, you preſently ſee them again, as if ſhot out of an engine, far from the place of their fall, and rowing ſafely in the aſſwaged waters. In ſailing for pleaſure about Elephantine, we were much entertained with many rude proſpects of rocks and precipices, at the bottom of which are caves and grottos formed by the continual breaking of the waves upon them. Near Phile are * two piked rocks, where the Ægyptian prieſts ſay are fountains of unfathomable profundity. They call them the veins of the Nile, and annually in their ſolemnities upon the increaſe of its waters, go thither to throw in their preſents as a tribute to the Nile. But when I arrive at Heliopolis, where I hope to be by the time that the ſolemnities upon that occaſion are celebrated, I ſhall have more leiſure, and be better prepared to entertain you with ſome phyſical accounts about it. In the area of an incloſure, belonging to the college of aſtronomers in this town, is raiſed a ſtone edifice with a ſpacious terraſs on the top; where are fixed in the open air the larger inſtruments, always ready at hand for their obſervations; and a great aperture in the middle looks down into † a very deep well, which being exactly under the Tropic circle, is a certain index for the ſummer ſolſtice. Though I am juſt ſetting out upon my progreſs into the lower Ægypt, I could not forbear communicating to you theſe obſervations upon things, which afforded me ſome new diſcoveries, and a greater entertainment than I expected. And as I ſhall ſcarce have leiſure to write to you again, till I do it from Heliopolis or Memphis, I was unwilling there ſhould be ſo long an interval in our correſpondence. Adieu. L.

* Herod. Euterp. c. 28.

† Strabo Plin: l. ii. c. 73.

LETTER XLVIII.

CLEANDER to SMERDIS. From Athens.

THOU wilt be ſurpriz'd, venerable Mage, when I inform thee, that a city ſo renowned as this is, for its martial exploits, ſhould at the ſame time be no leſs famous for its learning and acquirements in ſcience. Its principal men think they are but half qualified for the ſervice of the ſtate, till they have gone through the whole circle of arts; and it is not uncommon for even thoſe of the firſt rank, to give themſelves up entirely to the culture of them. They make no ſcruple to undertake long voyages, in order to enrich themſelves and their country with freſh diſcoveries; and at home make it their chief buſineſs, and what mixes even in their entertainments, to promote knowledge. It is by theſe means, and by the encouragement, which is given to ingenuity in general, that the Athenians are confeſſedly ſuperior to all the other ſtates of Greece, in this reſpect at leaſt. There is no ſcience, which they do not profeſs (and what is much more to their credit) no art, in which they do not excel. The myſterious parts of learning and the knowledge of nature have been brought to them, though imperfectly, from Ægypt. The more practical arts, ſuch as ſculpture and painting, building and muſic, owe, if not their invention, yet all their grace to them; for whether they have improved only on the rough and uncouth plans brought from thence, or themſelves ſtruck out thoſe ideas of beauty and ſymmetry, their merit will be equal. It is univerſally agreed that they have finiſhed almoſt at the ſame time that they ſet

about theſe arts, and in the compaſs of a very few years carried them to the utmoſt perfection they ſeem capable of. Thou wilt aſk perhaps, whether it is on theſe attainments alone, that the Athenians build their reputation, and to what purpoſes, beſides thoſe of pomp and luxury, theſe refined arts ſerve? Thou, who haſt been trained up in the diſcipline of the old Perſians (whoſe chief excellence was to ſhoot, and ſpeak the truth) wilt be apt to deſpiſe all acquirements, which don't tend to make men wiſer or better. I agree with thee, that theſe are the true, and ſhould be the chief end of all inſtitutions; nor are the Athenians negligent of this. They make it their buſineſs alſo to improve the mind, correct the will, and infuſe ſentiments of virtue and honeſty into their youth. And I am the more perſuaded of this, when I conſider the turn and genius, the aim and actions of a young philoſopher, who begins to draw the eyes and attention of the city on him. He has taken a courſe in his ſearch after knowledge different from all others: while they have been hunting after it in diſtant climes, he has been confined to his own city and almoſt to his own mind; he has applied himſelf chiefly to know himſelf, and having tried as it were the ſhallowneſs of his own underſtanding, inſtead of pretending (as others do) to teach every thing, he profeſſes for himſelf, and undertakes to ſhew others that they underſtand nothing. In the midſt of the moſt plentiful feaſts, he practiſes a temperance almoſt equal to that, which the rules of thy order enjoin thee; and while he converſes daily in the moſt promiſcuous and free manner, he is ſaid to preſerve an innocence in his life, and a ſanctity in his manners, which retirement from the world ſcarce ſecures to others. Thou wilt not wonder, if my curioſity has led me to converſe with him; nor is it difficult to have acceſs to one, who ſpends moſt part of his time in the ſtreets and public places of this city. He received my addreſs in the ſame open and eaſy manner, he does thoſe of all his countrymen; and by a ſimplicity of behaviour, and a

variety of queſtions, which ſeemed to have no relation to what I propoſed to him, he ſoon brought me to give up, what I had before looked on as clear and indubitable, and made me own, that I was ignorant in thoſe very points, which before I imagined I had beſt underſtood. When he had put me out of conceit with my own opinions, I was deſirous to be let into and ſubmit to his; but whether it was that he really (as he profeſſed) entertained no certain ones, or whether he did not think it ſafe to commit them to one, who, beſide his being a ſtranger, might not appear worthy of his confidence, he declined giving me this ſatisfaction, and left me neither pleaſed with him or myſelf. The mind, which takes pleaſure in its ſearches after truth, yet is impatient, when convinced, that all its darling ſyſtems and prepoſſeſſions are falſe; and I foreſee, that a ſage, whoſe life and doctrines are a conſtant reproach to all he converſes with, will ſoon make his diſciples deſirous of freeing themſelves from ſo impertinent a monitor. Adieu.

R.

LETTER XLIX.

CLEANDER to ORSAMES. From Athens.

AS I find nothing more agreeable, ORSAMES, during my reſidence at Athens, than the converſation of intelligent men, I endeavour to inform myſelf on ſubjects of literature and ingenuity, without neglecting the weightier buſineſs of my ſtation and character. It is not long ſince I troubled HYDASPES with an account of ſome curious particulars concerning the Grecian poets and hiſtorians, which I had gathered from a careful peruſal of their works, and the accurate relations of the learned. The humanity of my patron PHILEMON is never ſo much exerted to my advantage, as when he introduces me with his uſual politeneſs to the familiarity of perſons, whoſe company I ſhould have made my choice, could I otherwiſe have hoped for it. To the kind recommendation of my friend it is wholly owing, that I am lately admitted to the acquaintance of THUCYDIDES, a man of ſuperior quality and wiſdom, by whoſe means I ſhall extend my inſight into the conſtitution of Greece in general, and the policy of Athens in particular. He was employed ſome years ago by the city in conducting a ſecond colony of Athenians to Thurium; and though he does not engage in the adminiſtration of public affairs, he hath ſerved in the armies of the ſtate, and made ſeveral campaigns. I am told, he is originally poſſeſſed of a fair paternal inheritance, and is derived from a very noble family, both which are augmented by his marriage with a rich wife, the daughter of a king of Thrace. He ſeems however to conſider theſe happy circum-

ſtances in life with the impartial eyes of a philoſopher, and values the former only as it enables him to diffuſe the effects of his benevolence, and the latter, as the memory of it perpetually excites him to emulate his anceſtors in virtue. At the ſame time, he is ſo far from thinking himſelf raiſed above the reſt of his countrymen, that he lives with all the elegant ſimplicity of an Athenian, while he enjoys the opulence of a Perſian ſatrap. His inſtitution in the ſtudy of eloquence and philoſophy hath been conformable to the nobility of his birth and fortune. In philoſophy, he was the ſcholar of ANAXAGORAS; in rhetoric, he was inſtructed by ANTIPHON, an orator of ſingular abilities, and revered by the people for his eloquence. If I may form a judgment of his ſentiments in government from the tenour of his diſcourſe, he appears leaſt of all to approve of a democracy. The generoſity of his temper makes him averſe from the envy and contention of demagogues; the ſteadineſs of his politics, from the inconſtancy of popular reſolutions; and the integrity of his heart, from the ſelfiſh counſels of thoſe, who are willing to acquire or maintain an authority with the multitude. He could wiſh for a larger mixture of ariſtocracy in the Athenian commonwealth; and yet ſuch was his opinion of PERICLES, that as long as he continued alive and in ſupreme power, he uſed to ſay, "the adminiſtration was nominally "democratical, but in fact monarchical." As he is pleaſed to indulge me in ſome ſhare of his confidence, I took the liberty to aſk him one day in private, "How it happened, "that he, who joins to great natural endowments a ſur-"prizing compaſs of knowledge and long obſervation, had "never expreſs'd any deſire to be placed at the helm of the "republic, nor had entered into the artful management of "popular aſſemblies." He anſwer'd me, "That he for-"bore coming into the aſſembly, becauſe he would neither "be an acceſſary or a witneſs to their iniquitous proceed-

" ings: That proſperity had infatuated the minds of his " unthinking countrymen; and the only men who ruled " them, were thoſe, who ſoothed them with fond hopes, " enflamed them by falſe notions, and put them on chimeri- " cal ſchemes, and hazardous attempts; whereas he, who " gave temperate advice, was injuriouſly branded as a " coward, and thought ſo ignorant, as not to underſtand, " or ſo malicious as to belie their power." He ſaid, " the " trueſt and moſt ſhining merits were looked upon as crimes " againſt the ſtate; that they never pardoned him, who " ſerved them with talents, which rendered him worthy to " command, and often deprived themſelves of real advan- " tages to ſhun an imaginary evil. For my own part " (continued he) I have mingled ſo much of the diſin- " tereſted philoſopher with my republican principles, as " to abhor thoſe leaders of party, who croſs each other's " counſels to the detriment of the whole; thoſe flatterers, " who truckle to the humour of the people by the meaneſt " and moſt ſlaviſh compliances; thoſe declaimers, who " drive us into ſtrange undertakings, which their betters " either dare not oppoſe, or, if they do, precipitately en- " danger their own ſafety. A prudent citizen therefore, " when perſons of this kind bear ſway, will yield to the " torrent of the times, without ſuffering himſelf to be loſt " in the ſtream. He will wait for a fairer opportunity of " engaging in the public buſineſs, or elſe not engage in it " at all. He will not enter on the important office of a " miniſter, uncalled to it by the general voice of his country. " In a word, I have laid down theſe maxims to myſelf " which the politicians of our days ſeem utterly to deſpiſe, " *viz.* that a good man ſhould be ſo zealous in his regards " for the community, as to exclude all thoſe that are per- " ſonal, while a wiſe man remains indifferent in his choice " of public or private life, but ſtudious to adorn both. Can

" you then wonder (added he) if I have rather employed " myſelf in obſerving and recording what paſſes, than in " directing and governing? And to ſpeak ſincerely, it " is with a view to the good of futurity, that I am now " compiling a hiſtory of theſe times, and ſhall ſpare no " expence of labour or money to procure fitting memoirs " for the purpoſe. The Lacedæmonian archives as well " as the Athenian will be ranſacked, that from the collections " of each the ſeries of our tranſactions may be more im- " partially laid open; and however ſome men ſhall cenſure " the manner of my writing, yet no man ſhall queſtion the " truth of it. For it is not a work intended by way of " oſtentation to the preſent age, but as a monument of " inſtruction to our ſucceſſors, as a legacy to all poſterity."

Struck with the greatneſs of the reply, it was impoſſible for me to forget, what I had often been told, of the generous ſpirit he diſcovered, and the memorable tears which he ſhed, on hearing the Muſes of HERODOTUS recited in a celebrated feaſt at Athens. I conſidered this deſign as a conſequence of the ſame emulation; nor could I avoid on the one hand congratulating the generations to come on that admirable hiſtory, which the abilities of my friend THUCYDIDES will hereafter produce into the world; nor was it unnatural to reflect with an honeſt indignation on the other, that while Greece is making large ſtrides in policy and advancing in letters, Perſia too ingloriouſly neglects the cultivation of both. The former, not content with her victories at Marathon and Salamis, is endeavouring to defeat us in that, which alone can immortalize the name of either: the latter, ſo far from being animated by a ſenſe of her ſhame, to retrieve the advantages ſhe has loſt, is diſregarding the judgment of futurity, and adding to their conqueſt by indolence. But let us hope that this, oh ORSAMES, may not long be our caſe! Let us publiſh

an account of our actions to mankind, and not truſt to the partial repreſentation of the Greeks. Let us plead our own cauſe before the equitable tribunal of poſterity; and though the progreſs of our arms hath been checked, yet let not the palm in hiſtory be taken from us. Adieu.

C.

LETTER L.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS, Chief Scribe, &c. From Athens.

THE Athenians, noble ſcribe, are remarkable amongſt their other diſtinguiſhing qualities for the great eagerneſs, with which they liſten after news. Thou mayſt imagine, that this curioſity finds ſufficient employment by an account juſt arrived of a ſecond engagement between the Peloponneſian fleet and PHORMIO's ſquadron, in which the vaſt ſuperiority of number on the ſide of the former, balanced by the ſkill and bravery of the latter, has rendered the advantage and loſs pretty equal between both parties, as thou wilt be better able to judge from the following relation.

A reinforcement of twenty ſail were immediately fitted out here, at the preſſing inſtances of PHORMIO; but inſtead of being ſent directly to him, were ordered to take Crete in their way, on a ſervice of no importance. They were detained ſo long at that iſland by contrary winds, that they were not able to join him till the battle was over.

In the mean time, BRASIDAS and CNEMUS put to ſea with a fleet of ſeventy ſail well appointed, and came to an

anchor at Rhium of Achaia, whilſt PHORMIO and his twenty gallies were ſtationed at a port of the ſame name on the oppoſite ſhore. Theſe two harbours form the mouth of the Criſſæan gulph. The Peloponneſian commanders intended to bring the Athenians to an engagement within the gulph, before the reinforcement arrived. PHORMIO deſigned to avoid fighting, but, if that was not in his power, to engage them in the open ſea, where the dexterity of his ſailors and the ſwiftneſs of his ſhips, would give him the advantage againſt their unweildy veſſels and unexperienced ſeamen. After they had lain two or three days in this poſture, the Peloponneſians made a motion up the gulph with their whole fleet towards Naupactus; which obliged PHORMIO much againſt his will to follow them in order to ſave the place, which was too weak to make a ſtout reſiſtance. As ſoon as the admirals of the enemy ſaw the Athenian ſquadron engaged within the ſtrait, they gave the ſignal to their fleet to tack about, and bear down upon them, which they did with ſuch vigour, that they drove ſeveral of the Athenian galleys againſt the ſhore, ſunk ſome, and made many priſoners. A body of Meſſenian troops in the ſervice of Athens, who were marching along the ſhore, behaved very bravely; for they entered the ſea with their arms, and recovered ſome of the ſhips, that had been taken. In another part of the action, PHORMIO himſelf puſhed out to ſea with eleven ſhips, and was purſued by twenty Peloponneſian ones into the harbour of Naupactus. This experienced officer obſerving that they followed the chaſe very careleſsly, and either out of contempt of the Athenians, or believing the victory already their own, neglected to keep their line of battle, ſo that ſome of their ſhips were out of ſight, ordered the few galleys he had with him to turn their prows, and bear down directly on the enemy, himſelf leading the attack. This advantage was ſo well improved, that after ſome of the foremoſt Peloponneſian veſſels were diſabled,

the reſt frighted at ſo unexpected a turn were put to flight, and ſix of them taken. PHORMIO and BRASIDAS have both erected trophies, though neither of them can juſtly lay claim to the victory. The ſhips from Crete are ſince arrived, and it is ſaid the Peloponneſian fleet is retired to Corinth. The officers, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt on the ſide of Athens, were ASOPIUS, the admiral's ſon, and NICIAS.

It is much cenſured as an error in CLEON and his party, the preſent managers of affairs, that they did not immediately furniſh PHORMIO with a force ſufficient to improve his firſt advantage, and remain maſter of the ſea. In all probability, if the twenty ſhips had not waſted ſo much of their time at Crete, this muſt have proved a very conſiderable ſucceſs for the Athenians. It has been a common ſaying amongſt them on this occaſion, that they are now thoroughly ſenſible, that PERICLES is dead. The laſt letters from Platæa mention, that the army of the allies under the command of ARCHIDAMUS king of Sparta, being harraſſed out with the length of the ſiege and the vigorous reſiſtance of the garriſon, have reſolved to encloſe the city with a ſtrong wall, fortified with ditches and towers on both ſides, to prevent as well the ſallies of the inhabitants within, as the entrance of any ſuccours from without; and that after having finiſhed this regular fortification, part of their forces will be left for the blockade of the town, and the reſt diſmiſſed.

I have now laid before thee, noble ſatrap, the preſent courſe of public occurrences; nor do I neglect to inform myſelf, as thou enjoineſt me, of the private intrigues of this city, and the ſecret ſprings, that influence the counſels of this active republic. The adminiſtration of affairs, ſince the death of PERICLES, has lain principally in the hands of

a party, who may be ſaid to delight in war; and though they have not the neceſſary talents for carrying on a regular and well concerted ſcheme of military operations, yet they treat any one, who but ventures to name the word peace in their aſſemblies, as an enemy to his country, and a friend to Lacedæmon. They are a ſet of men compoſed of mercenary orators, and other factious citizens, who are enriched and aggrandized by a war, that impoveriſhes the reſt of the ſtate. Every general is obliged to pay his court to them, and to have a band of rhetoricians to defend him againſt the attacks of his enemies at home, whilſt he is fighting his country's battles in the field. The allies make their applications to them, to recommend their cauſes to the people, to get their contributions leſſened, or an expedition undertaken in their behalf; though the immediate ſervice of the ſtate perhaps is neglected, and her armies rendered uſeleſs for want of ſupplies. CLEON is at the head of theſe worthy patriots; a man the more oppoſite to peace, becauſe in quiet times his own bad actions would appear, and the calumnies of others be leſs believed. He ſupports himſelf, not ſo much by the greatneſs of his abilities, as the boldneſs of his undertakings, and the confidence of his aſſertions. He renders himſelf popular, not by the eaſe and humanity of his behaviour, but the freedom and roughneſs of it; which is agreeable to the common ſort, whom he likewiſe gains over to his intereſt by frequently relieving their neceſſities. He carries his point in the aſſemblies, by an over-bearing vehement ſort of eloquence accompanied with much action. There are however ſeveral, who diſlike his character and meaſures, and oppoſe both with great freedom: the comic writers in particular do not ſpare him, but ſet him forth in the ſtrongeſt colours, that the copiouſneſs of their invention and the ſeverity of their ſatyr will afford. Of late they have been employed in falling foul upon the memory of PERICLES,

and repeating the plentiful collection of ſcandal, which the very mention of his name gives them room to diſplay.

I cannot conclude without acknowledging thy laſt letter: the gracious acceptance, which my ſervices meet with, is far ſuperior to their merits as well as my expectations. Permit me to indulge a little pardonable vanity in reflecting, that I enjoy the honour of being ranked amongſt thy friends, and the meaneſt of the ſervants of ARTAXERXES. Adieu.

P.

LETTER LI.

HYDASPES to CLEANDER. From Babylon.

THOUGH the riſe and preſervation, CLEANDER, of every great monarchy has been owing to the arts of war, yet at the ſame time 'tis certain, no ſtate could ſupport itſelf without the neceſſary improvements of peace. The wiſdom therefore of our conſtitution is in nothing more conſpicuous, than the admirable care that is taken to make the * culture of both mutually ſerve and promote each other. Without this, the numberleſs forces of Perſia would overrun and depopulate the whole empire. But by a moſt exact and regular diſpoſition in every diſtrict of the provinces, the garriſons and ſtanding forces are maintained with very little burden to the country. The præfect of each diſtrict has a liſt of ſo many horſe, ſhieldmen, or archers, which he is to find proviſion for, according to the fertility and produce of the lands within his diviſion. ARTAX-

* Xenoph. memorabil. Lib. V. edit. Francof. p. 827. E. & p. 828.

ERXES himſelf has every thing under his own inſpection; he frequently reviews the troops in one part or other of his dominions, and ſurveys the country at the ſame time, or employs thoſe he can confide in, to do it in places more remote. By this means he knows the ſtate of his armies, the ſtrength of his garriſons, and the condition of the ſeveral provinces. If the præfects fraudulently withhold what nature hath plentifully beſtowed, or if the land be not ſufficiently cultivated as far as the ſoil will bear, they are liable to be complained againſt by the officers of the army, or thoſe ſent to inſpect them, or to be diſcovered in the neglect of their duty by the king himſelf. Where naked and barren proſpects are by labour and induſtry converted into beautiful lawns and plantations, or the face of nature in any ſort improved, the præfect of that diſtrict is ſure to receive ſome mark of the royal munificence, and the meaneſt labourer to enjoy the fruits of his induſtry. And wherever the troops are fitly choſen, well diſciplined, and handſomely equipped in their arms and other accoutrements, not only the commanding ſatrap, but every chiliarch and tribune is diſtinguiſhed, as he hath ſhewn his diligence in the faithful diſcharge of his truſt. By this means they are always found prepared, either for a military expedition, to form an encampment, or paſs in review before their ſovereign. This ſummer a large body of forces, draughted out from ſeveral provinces, is encamp'd in the plains of Babylon. The natural Perſians are 20000, who are honoured with † XERXES for their chief, diſtinguiſhed from the Medes by their light targets and the faſhion of their ſleeves with ſtripes of various colours. The Median forces, a ſelect body, amount to twenty more. Thirty thouſand Aſſyrians with brazen helmets and linen corſlets are commanded by ARSITES. The

† He was the prince royal of Perſia.

Arii and Bactrians make ten thouſand, armed alike, § except that the former have Median bows; their general is ‡ BAGAPÆUS, the emperor's ſon by ANDIA a Babyloniſh lady, and uterine brother to PARISATIS, a gallant young prince, who hath been trained to arms under ARASPES, the brave ſatrap of Bactria. The Ciſſij with the Sagartians and borderers upon the Erythræan ſea conſtitute twenty thouſand. The Sagartians and thoſe people in the tributary diviſions are reckoned to the province of Perſia, ‖ the proper Perſians being, as you know, exempted from all tribute. The Sagartians wear a brigantine of leathern thongs cloſely entwined together, and carry nets, which they make uſe of in an engagement with great dexterity. The reſt are armed much after the Perſian manner in ſcaly corſlets, and with the ſame defenſive weapons; but the habits of their chiefs are enriched with topazes from the oriental iſles adjoining. Among them are a body of the Chelænophagi, whoſe mails are curiouſly formed of the ſhells of tortoiſes. SOGDIANUS has the command of five thouſand Caſpians and Paricanians, who make a barbarous appearance in the hides of ſhaggy goats, and are armed with bows and daggers. ARTASYRAS, who by OCHUS's intereſt was lately appointed ſatrap of the greater Armenia, is preſent with ſix thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe from the territories lying at the head of the Euphrates, and between the Araxes and the Cyrus. A ſplendid tent was ſet up for OCHUS, and he is expected here with a large detachment of the Hyrcanians; but he ſtopped ſhort with twenty brigades in the neighbourhood of Ecbatana, to prevent, as is ſuppoſed, a ſecond riſing of the Caduſians, which may be the more ſuſpected, as the choiſeſt part of the Median forces were draughted for this encamp-

§ Herod. Polymn. c. 65

‡ Excerpt. ex Cteſiæ Perſic. c. 48.

‖ Herod. Thal. c. 97.

ment. Ten thouſand Syrians are quartered round MEGABYZUS's pavilion, armed with ſhort ſpears, javelins, and daggers, and greaves that cover only half the leg.* Five thouſand Arabians habited in their looſe mantles of Indian ſilk, with long bows,† are placed in the rear of the camp, that their camels may not annoy their horſes. Amidſt theſe various multitudes, the greateſt regularity and order is preſerved through all the ranks. The city of Babylon, which delights in ſhews and pomp, was much entertained with the grand parade, when ARTAXERXES went to meet his camp. The magi led the proceſſion in their ſcarlet robes, carrying the holy fire upon a ſilver hearth. After them came the empty chariot crowned with garlands and drawn by white ſteeds with harneſſes of gold, which is ſacred to OROMASDES, and an emblem of his preſence with us. A ſingle horſe came next of the largeſt breed of Hyrcania in honour to the ſun, and the leaders had white garments with ſtaffs of gold. Then a thouſand of the band of Immortals, with their golden chains and veſts of rich brocades ſet off with Indian gems, followed by the order called the Royal Kindred; after them the body guard, who are diſtinguiſhed by the golden apples upon their Pikes. The chief ſatraps and princes of the blood attended about the perſon of ARTAXERXES, who rode in an ivory chariot, richly inlaid with amethiſts and rubies upon ſilver and gold plates curiouſly imboſſed with emblematic figures. ‡From behind, a ſculptured eagle, more dazzling than the car itſelf, ſpread its wings over the monarch's head. A thouſand ſpearmen cloſed the proceſſion. The tent of ARTAXERXES ſtands conſpicuous on a riſing ground near the center of the camp, with the image of the ſun in a caſe of cryſtal over it. The

* Herod. Polym. c. 85.
† Id. c. 87.
‡ Quint. Curt.

ladies of the court complain of their being left out in this proceſſion, who have in every ſignal expedition attended the camp. They threaten to appear ſoon in Amazonian dreſſes, and try the courage of ſome in diſtinction there, ſince moſt of the younger ſatraps, who were noted for their effeminate delicacy, have upon this occaſion aſſumed a martial air. Theſe jeſts have reviv'd the memory of the ancient Sacian women, who in the reign of their queen ZARINA, about the time of ARTIBARNAS, father to ASTYAGES, joined in a revolt of the Parthi, and extremely diſtreſſed the Medes. And ſome fine interludes, intermixed after our manner with ſinging and dances, have been played in the royal apartments founded upon the ſtory of that heroine, and the ‖ adventure of the Mede STRYAGLIUS with the Sacian lady, whom he had thrown from her horſe, and conceived ſuch a violent paſſion for, that meeting with a repulſe in his firſt addreſſes, he pretended to ſtarve himſelf, and by that artifice worked upon the compaſſion of his miſtreſs. A party of the court ladies, with the queen mother and AMYTIS, were lately at an entertainment in MEGABYZUS's tent, and paſſed through the camp in a cedar carriage with the curtains of their pavilion undrawn, attended by INTAPHERNES and five hundred of the Immortals. MEGABYZUS performs all the duties of a general, and excites an emulation among the troops in their military exerciſes, by his frequent preſence among them. But to the great concern of all his friends, though the vigour of his mind be ſtill the ſame, yet in his bodily ſtrength he ſeems daily declining. APOLLONIDES of Cos, who is in great favour with ARTAXERXES, exerts his utmoſt ſkill to prolong a life ſo valuable to Perſia. Adieu.

L.

‖ Ex Cteſ. Perſ. fragment. ap. Demetr. Phaler. in libro, qui περὶ ἑρμηνείας vocatur.

LETTER LII.

CLEANDER to SMERDIS.

I have of late been engaged in ſome converſations with the ſages of this place, which have more than once brought to my mind thoſe delightful ſolitudes, where thou, abſtracted from all other care and avocations, enjoyeſt as it were the preſence of the great OROMASDES, and illuminations, which, though no leſs important than thoſe vouchſafed to the favoured ZORASTER, thou in divine conference haſt communicated to me. Not many furlongs from the city, in the midſt of a ſpacious meadow, which is almoſt ſurrounded with the clear and ſmooth ſtream of the river Iliſſus, there is a ſtadium not ſo remakable for its ornaments and grandeur, as its antiquity and ſituation; it was built in the early ages of this republic, and ſtill retains its primitive rudeneſs and ſimplicity. A grove of trees coeval at leaſt to the ſtructure, whoſe trunks appear like huge pillars to ſupport a thick and verdurous roof, are planted on one ſide; and through them the cool breezes, which ariſe from the river, and are perfumed by numberleſs flowers that adorn its banks, give a freſhneſs amidſt the ſcorching heats, which we now feel, and form a retreat the moſt agreeable that can be imagined. It is for this, that the philoſophers of Athens with their diſciples frequently exchange the Academy and Lycæum; and as I have more than once been admitted to the conferences, that are held here, thou wilt not, I fancy, be diſpleaſed to partake in them alſo. It is true, I have ſometimes been but indifferently entertained.

Some of the firſt and higheſt reputation among theſe philoſophers have little true and ſolid knowledge even of thoſe ſciences they profeſs. Many, who ſet up for maſters of natural truths, are either greatly ignorant of, or entirely miſtake the firſt principles, on which they are built. Others there are, who are called teachers of eloquence, but are not able to give any proof of their being ſo; others, who diſpenſe out leſſons of wiſdom, not from any ſtock of their own, but founded on the authority and maxims of their anceſtors. But what above all moves my indignation is, that without any experience of the world, any inſight into policy, they all take on them to inſtruct their ſcholars in the arts of government, the conduct of publick affairs, and the enacting of fit and neceſſary laws. It is true, that theſe pretenders to ſcience but too frequently meet here one, who, as he is much ſuperior to them in all parts of learning, ſeems animated with a particular zeal to deſtroy their ill-grounded pretences to it. It is not unuſual to ſee them put to a precipitate and ſhameful retreat by this great champion of truth; and indeed it is impoſſible to conceive the deep wiſdom and true reaſoning, that are concealed under the plainneſs and ſimplicity of the rude * mechanick. As he has a peculiar art of illuſtrating what he treats on, ſo he has alſo of expoſing what may be on inſufficient grounds admired by others. By abundance of apt compariſons, and a moſt extenſive induction of known and familiar topics, he at once opens and convinces the minds of his hearers. Nor need I after this deſcription tell thee, that I ſpeak of SOCRATES, in whom if there is any thing that I blame, it is his too great reſerve, and his rather labouring to make thoſe he converſes with unlearn what is wrong, than to inſtruct them in what is right. In one of our converſations one day, after he had put to flight a whole army of the ſophiſts,

* SOCRATES was bred up a ſculptor.

and only one or two friends were left, I was led to expreſs my ſurprize and concern, that he, who was ſo capable, and ſeemed ſo ready to teach men true knowledge, ſhould yet be ſo backward in this godlike employment. I even ſaid, "that it ſeemed ungenerous and inconſiſtent with his uſual "benevolence, to be ſo ſevere, as I had ſometimes known "him, on thoſe, whoſe greateſt fault was perhaps only to "be too ready to teach, while he, who was capable of "doing it, would not enter upon this province." He received my reproof with his uſual humanity, and after ſome pauſe, ſaid; "Was I really, my friend, what you would "kindly ſuppoſe me, capable of inſtructing mankind, yet "ſure I am, that you and all wiſe men would judge the "worſe of me, if I ſhould venture to proclaim it. It has "hitherto been the chief buſineſs of my life to confute and "ſhew the folly of theſe vain ſciolifts: and ſhould I not "expoſe myſelf to the contempt of thoſe, who are ſo con-"temptible, if I ſhould engage in their taſk, and take on "me to dictate on points, which I am ſenſible are not only "out of my reach, but even beyond that of human capacity? "It is true, that I have endeavoured, as far as I am able, "to cultivate and improve my faculties. I own I have "uſed my utmoſt induſtry in acquiring knowledge; and "as truth and ſcience have hitherto been, ſo I am perſuaded "they ever will be, the ſcope and object of my life to come. "But alaſs! ſo far am I from having arrived at what I aim "at, that I am daily convinced I never ſhall. I am ſatisfied, "that I know nothing perfectly; the experience of each day "convinces me of the folly of the concluſions I made the "foregoing; and upon the matureſt conſideration I am "brought to conclude, that the probable is all we can ever "arrive at in our reſearches. What can I do better there-"fore, or how can I be more uſefully employed, than in "endeavouring to take men off from thoſe idle and fruitleſs "purſuits after certainty, which I am convinced they never

" will find? Nor does this hinder me from tracing out, and " even depending upon ſome great and fundamental points. " And if thou wouldſt know what it is that appears to me " the moſt probable, I anſwer, ſeeſt thou the great frame " of the univerſe, and haſt thou conſider'd the various and " wonderful inſtances of wiſdom and contrivance, that are " diſplay'd in every part of it; and canſt thou doubt of its " being the work of ſome all-wiſe and all-powerful cauſe? " Can ſo much uſe and beauty, ſo much magnificence and " deſign, ſo much regularity and order ſtrike us on the con- " templation of nature, and we not own the author of na- " ture? Can ſo many beings exiſt, and there be no cauſe of " their exiſtence? No, it is impoſſible not to trace and acknow- " ledge plain and evident marks of a deity, who formed and " directs this wondrous machine. It muſt be that we are all " under his government, that we are produced for ſome great " purpoſes; and when we diſcover, that not the moſt minute " and inſignificant atom, which we ſee, but has its uſes, " and ſerves its peculiar ends, we muſt conclude that man, " the nobleſt work of the creation, muſt alſo have his. " Hence then am I led to enquire and conſider, what are " and what ought to be the great duties of my life. I try " the extent of my own and others capacity. I endeavour " to fathom their underſtandings. I examine into the end of " our actions, how they may affect ourſelves or others. I " find a light as it were and guide placed in my breaſt, which " if diligently attended to, directs me in all important oc- " curences. I am ſatisfied, that man is not born for him- " ſelf only, but for the ſervice of others, and that there is a " law, which directs all to the practice of what is juſt, and " good, and true, planted in every man's breaſt; that hu- " man laws only inforce this and bind it upon bad men; that " the good are not influenced by them, and he that attends " has no need of any other obligation than what ariſes from " hence. Nay further, when I conſider the nature and for-

" mation of man, and that all we learn ſeems to be little " more than recollecting what we have been apprized of, I " conclude, that we have exiſted in ſome other ſtate. And " if we have lived before, ſtill it is more likely (conſidering " the paſſionate deſire we have after knowledge, and how " impoſſible it is to ſatisfy it in this ſtate) that we are de- " ſigned for and ſhall exiſt in another. But I refrain from " indulging in this, which to thee may appear a viſionary " and idle ſpeculation, however probable and rational it may " ſeem to me." Here he ended, and I would gladly have engaged him in a more particular diſcuſſion of what he had advanced. He on the contrary deſired my ſentiments, which not only out of modeſty, but prudence, thou wilt imagine I declined giving, and ſo our converſation broke up. I went away convinced, that the notices of the great OROMASDES are wonderfully diſplayed throughout the whole univerſe, and that the ſublimeſt truths are eaſily diſcoverable, when men make a proper uſe of that moſt valuable emanation from him, *Reaſon.*

R.

LETTER LIII.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER. From Heliopolis.

THE Nile is now riſen to its greateſt height, and the country in every part fills the eye of a traveller with wonder and delight, and affords the moſt joyful proſpect to the inhabitants of Ægypt. From a pyramid in this town I ſurveyed the diſtant ſurface, where lawns, and fields, and gardens lay undiſtinguiſh'd in one fluid plain; the taller foreſts waving in the midſt of waters, and the ſtately piles of Memphis and the neighbouring towns, with the adjacent pyramids ſcatter'd like rocks and iſlands, to diverſify the charming ſcene. You ſee in every place life and motion, the inhabitants paſſing continually hither for buſineſs or pleaſure, in boats or barges upon the water, or over the banks and cauſeways from town to town. The further mountains of Libya riſe like a diſtant continent ſeen off at ſea; the nearer ones, that are continued along the banks of the Nile from the upper Thebais, begin here to open and ſpread away to the Eaſt, and preſent the moſt raviſhing landſcape of hills and precipices, intermixed with lawns and woods, where the cattle graze during the inundation. My happening to come down from Syene, about the time that the banks were to be laid open, contributed much, with the natural chearfulneſs of the country, to render my tour agreeable. Upon this occaſion, there are certain ceremonies obſerved with great ſolemnity and rejoicing: and the præfects of the greater diſtricts, uſually viſit all the chief towns, through the ſeveral nomes they preſide over, at the

cutting of the banks, and are preſent at the ſolemn feſtivals held upon that occaſion; which they eaſily may, a regular cuſtom being obſerved of beginning from the veins of the Nile, and ſo proceeding gradually down the country, as the inundation directs them. Above Thebes ſeldom any but the prieſts themſelves attend. Of this cuſtom PHARNUCES took no notice, when I parted from him to ſee the cataracts, and thought to have paſſed unobſerved the whole way back to Heliopolis; but about the midway to Thebes upon my return, at a town called Cnubis, which is named from the ſame god CNEPH, who is worſhipped at Syene, I met a ſplendid galley, which waited there for my reception to conduct me to PHARNUCES. When I had landed at the palace, which fronts to the water, he ſaluting me, with his uſual civility ſaid, you are returned, ORSAMES, very opportunely to ſee the ceremonies, that are performed at the cutting of the banks; and I ſhall accompany you myſelf part of your way, if you wont think it too great a delay to grace my parade. This year the river is riſen ſixteen cubits, which promiſes a plentiful increaſe. The next morning the galleys were early before the palace; and having taken a ſhort repoſe, we ſet out not long after ſun riſing. As ſoon as the oars touched the water, a concert ſtruck up of Perſian and Ægyptian muſic, and every thing contributed to make our paſſage delightful; the ſerenity of the air, the brightneſs of the morning, and the calm ſurface of the water reflecting the early beams *, and interſperſed with flowers of the Lotus, reſembling a bed of lilies. In every place that we ſtopped at, a black bull with much ceremony was ſacrificed to the Nile. We arrived the day after at Coptos, an † ancient emporium for Indian and Arabian commodities. The city ſtands a

* Herod. Euterp. c. 92.

† Plin. I. V. c. 9.

little removed from the Nile, but has its keys and warehouſes to the river. * Here ISIS, they ſay, received the firſt tidings of OSIRIS's death, and cut off a lock of her hair for grief, which gave occaſion to the city being called Coptos, implying in the Ægyptian language *Privation*. From this town they tranſport their merchandize by camels to the Portus Albus, for Arabia and the Indian iſles. Southward from which, along the ſhore of the Arabian gulf, are the famous mountains, where they dig for carbuncles. Below Coptos on the oppoſite ſide ſtands This, the metropolis once of a very powerful dynaſty, but now comprehended in the lower Thebais. And here we could diſcern at a diſtance the ruins † of Abydos, one of the royal ſeats of MEMNON. Next is the town of VENUS and the city of the Crocodiles. Then on the eaſtern ſide Chemmis, which boaſts of PERSEUS's original: his temple is there encompaſſed in a grove of palm trees, with a ſtately portico of large maſſy columns of porphyrite; in which are two Coloſſean ſtatues, and the image of PERSEUS within ‡. The prieſts pretend, that the deity ſometimes manifeſts himſelf to them, which is always taken for a good omen, and forebodes great plenty to Ægypt. DANAUS and LYNCEUS, who went into Greece, were, they ſay, of Chemmis; and from them they reckon the deſcent of PERSEUS, who coming into Ægypt to bring thither the Gorgon's head out of Lybia, viſited that place, having been informed by his mother of his relation to it, and inſtituted there thoſe athletic games to her honour and his own, which were alſo celebrated in Greece; and the two Coloſſean ſtatues before the temple are his great progenitors DANAUS

* Plut. de Iſid. & Oſir.

† Strabo.

‡ Herod. Eut. c. 91.

and LYNCEUS. The particular ceremonies, which I ſaw practiſed every where, would be as tedious to relate, as the various diſcourſe our voyage furniſhed about the cauſes of the Nile's inundation. THALES the Mileſian, mentioned in one of your letters, who is remembered here with great veneration, accounted for it by the Eteſian winds blowing againſt the mouths of the Nile at this ſeaſon. But though that does not ſeem to be a ſufficient cauſe, ſince the ſame would probably then happen to other rivers, where the like winds are known to blow; yet whatever other cauſes may ſupply ſuch quantity of water, whether melted ſnow from the mountains of Æthiopia when the ſun comes over them, or great rains falling in remote countries, yet theſe winds may contribute to make the overflow more regular and laſting, as they are a balance to the waters, and prevent them from running off into the ſea, till they have ſufficiently fertilized the land. At the ancient city of Antæus I parted from PHARNUCES, who deſired, that one of his barges might attend me to Memphis: but as I could no longer enjoy the ſame agreeable company, I deſired to proceed the reſt of my journey in a more private manner. The moſt extraordinary part of the ceremonies I ſaw performed at Nilopolis, a city at the lower end of the iſland of the Heracleotic nome *. While the prieſts were ſacrificing to the Nile, we ſaw of a ſudden ſix youths in a ſtrange dreſs of a ſeagreen colour advancing towards us, pretended to be juſt come up from a deep chaſm in the adyta of the temple. They joined in the ſolemnities, ſinging the praiſes of the Nile, and reciting the benefit, that their country received from the overflow of its waters; which was to them † their land and water, their lakes and ſea. Then the prieſts ſolemnly told us, that theſe

* Videſis Serv. in Georg. L. IV. v. 364. ſpelunciſque lacus clauſos.

† Achilles Tatius.

their ſons were in their infancy delivered to the nymphs, and had been educated by them ever ſince, and bid them declare what they had learnt in thoſe ſubterranean abodes concerning the nature of the Nile. The youths, who were inſtructed in their anſwers, gave a fabulous account concerning the internal ſtructure of the earth, and deſcribed to us lakes and oceans, that are below the ſame, as above the ſurface; and the great rivers, that are loſt underground, and by hidden channels in the depths of the earth conveyed from place to place, till at length they riſe again in diſtant climates. And thus they affirmed, that they themſelves had ſeen * the Nile in a contrary hemiſphere, removed from ours by a whole diameter of the globe; and that the river loſing itſelf in a great gulf was carried thro' various ducts and windings within the vaſt abyſs, till at laſt it roſe again, and guſhed out at the two rocks by Syene, dividing its ſtreams from thence to Æthiopia and Ægypt. I conſidered this as a philoſophical conjecture of the prieſts, who are much puzzled themſelves about the ſource of the Nile, worked up with theſe fabulous circumſtances to diſguiſe their ignorance, and impoſe upon the vulgar. From Nilopolis I could diſcern the towers and obeliſcs of Memphis, and the ſummit of the temple of the ſun, which crowns this city, and ſtands conſpicuous above the other buildings, though Heliopolis and Memphis both are raiſed by artificial moles a great height above the waters. The mythological doctrines about the divinity of the Nile, which I have learnt among the prieſts of this college, are no leſs ſtrange and confuſed, than thoſe about its origin juſt before-mentioned †. Nile they call Osiris, and the land Isis, and the ſultry heat, which would deſtroy the fruits of the earth, unleſs the ſoil was fertilized by the inundation,

* Pompon. Mela. c. 10.

† Plutar. de Iſid. & Oſir.

they ſymbolize under the name of TYPHON. NEPTHE is the highlands, which the floods of the Nile ſeldom reach to, and is ſaid to be TYPHON's wife, becauſe they are commonly parched with heat. If the floods of the Nile happen at any time to reach theſe highlands, then there commonly grow ſome few water plants cauſed by the inundation, and theſe they reckon an uncommon product, and call them Anubis. And they hint all this in the following fable; they ſay OSIRIS begat of his wife ISIS a legitimate child called ORUS, and that he committed adultery with NEPTHE the wife of TYPHON, and had by her the baſtard ANUBIS. Thus I may call the religion of the prieſts in general a mythological collection or ſyſtem of antient ſtories, poetically diſguiſed, and applied under different acceptations, to allegorize the ſeveral phænomena of nature. Adieu.

L.

LETTER LIV.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

THE Athenians are ſcarce recovered from the greateſt conſternation they have been in during the whole courſe of the war. Whilſt they enjoyed an imaginary ſecurity, and fancied, that the Peloponneſian allies were retired into winter quarters, an enterprize was formed, which had like to have proved their deſtruction, almoſt before they could perceive the blow was ſtruck. It was nothing leſs than a deſign to ſurprize the port Pyræeus, their great arſenal and harbour, which, by a ſtrange negligence, was unfurniſhed with gallies to meet an invader, or a chain to keep them from entering. The firſt circumſtance, which made them ſuſpect their danger, was an advice brought them, that a large body of marines was marched over land from Corinth to Niſæa, a port of the Megaræans, juſt oppoſite to the Pyræeus; and that forty gallies were ready to be launched there upon the firſt order. But as in popular aſſemblies, the multiplicity of opinions, that are ſtarted, tends rather to confound, than direct their counſels, they ſpent their time in debating what the deſign of the enemies ſhould be, when they ought to have been preparing to oppoſe it. The Peloponneſian fleet in the mean time, inſtead of ſailing towards the Pyræeus, according to their firſt ſcheme, turned off to Salamis, ſurprized a fort, took three guard ſhips, and waſted the iſland. This alteration of their meaſures, whether occaſioned by a contrary wind, or ſome diſſentions among their generals, proved the ſafety of the Athenians, who being alarmed to the higheſt

degree by the ſignals of danger made from Salamis, put a ſtrong garriſon in Pyræeus, and fitted out ſome gallies with all haſte, with which they ſailed to obſerve the motions of their enemies. The Peloponneſians being informed of thoſe preparations, and not thinking themſelves ſtrong enough to venture an engagement, returned to Niſæa. Now the danger is paſt, the Athenians are buſily employed in ſhutting up the entrance of the harbour with a chain, and fitting out ſome ſhips to keep guard without.

The ſiege of Platæa is turned into a blockade; the Peloponneſians have drawn lines round the city, which are looked upon to be a very fine piece of fortification. They conſiſt of a double encloſure, one towards Platæa, to oppoſe the ſallies of the beſieged, and another towards the country, to prevent the Athenians from throwing in ſupplies. The diſtance between theſe incloſures, which is ſixteen feet, is taken up with towers, where the ſoldiers employed in the blockade are quartered. There is alſo a deep ditch filled with water, that is carried round the work.

Thou muſt already be informed of the war juſt broke out between PERDICCAS, King of Macedon, and SITALCES, King of Thrace, in which the Athenians are auxiliaries to the latter. Thou haſt probably received advice of it from the governors of the Helleſpont, and beſides it has no particular relation to the buſineſs of my employment here.

I am next, noble ſcribe, to open to thee an affair, which I enter upon with no ſmall reluctance, as well upon account of the perſon it concerns, whoſe fortunes, honour, and life will be nearly affected by what I ſhall lay before thee, as becauſe I am ſenſible, how unwilling the humanity of thy temper renders thee to reveal what muſt prejudice another, and how ſtrongly at the ſame time thy ſingular fidelity muſt

be moved at any act of treachery in thoſe, that approach the ſacred perſon of the king. To detain thee no longer in ſuſpenſe, I have diſcovered a treaſonable correſpondence of SACAS, the eunuch, chamberlain to the womens apartment, which I came to the knowledge of in the following manner. Upon PERICLES's death, the papers and letters relating to the public affairs, which he had in his poſſeſſion, were ordered by a decree of the ſenate to be depoſited in the archives of the ſtate. I found means to obtain a ſight of them from the ſcribe of the aſſembly, in whoſe hands they were depoſited; and thou mayeſt imagine, how ſurprized I was, to diſcover amongſt them a correſpondence between PERICLES and SACAS, which begun the year after the peace made with CIMON, and continued ever ſince with little interruption. Thou canſt remember, that ſoon after that peace was ſigned, the Athenians ſent ambaſſadors to the Perſian court, who, as it appears from theſe letters, engaged this unfortunate eunuch in the intereſt of Athens. He makes ſtrong profeſſions in his letters, that nothing could have engaged him in the ſervice, but the remembrance of his Grecian extraction; for thou knoweſt he was ſtolen from the coaſt of Eubœa by Phœnician pirates, who infeſted the Ægean ſea. His letters chiefly turn upon the news and ordinary occurrences of the court; but there is no one point, which he inculcates more ſtrongly, than the advantages, which Greece may gain by exciting the Perſian provinces to revolt, and the facility of putting any ſuch project in execution. He repreſents, that to erect principalities in the heart of the Perſian dominions, under the protection of the Grecian ſtates, would be the ſureſt barrier for the latter againſt any attempt of the former: that moſt of the governors would want very little encouragement to ſet up for themſelves, ſome conſcious of their own male-adminiſtration, others incited from motives of diſappointed ambition, or private injuries. That the people harraſſed out

with taxes, and groaning under an oppreſſive government, would readily join in the revolt; eſpecially if fair offers of liberty and Grecian protection were laid before them. He names ARGESTES the late governor of Lydia, and MAZEUS the governor of Phrygia, as particularly inclined to revolt: that the latter he was well acquainted with, and knew that five hundred talents and a ſquadron of Athenian ſhips would at any time bring him into the field. In one of his letters he uſes the following remarkable expreſſions: "When once the fire of ſedition is kindled, and blown up "into a flame, it will ſpread from one province to another "from the frontiers to the centre of the empire. The "Medes themſelves may perhaps make a bold ſtruggle to "recover the monarchy of Aſia; for I do not ſay it without "good foundation, many of our ſatraps cannot forget, that "the blood of PHRAORTES and ASTYAGES runs in their "veins." The traitor not contented with diſcloſing the counſels of Perſia, would involve the whole empire in blood and confuſion, and overturn the throne of that prince, by whoſe goodneſs his fortunes were rendered not only eaſy but ſplendid, and himſelf raiſed from a ſtate of ſervitude to a ſtation near the royal perſon. The execrable treaſon of SACAS, illuſtrious miniſter, ſhould be puniſhed with the moſt exemplary ſeverity, and tranſmitted down to our poſterity in the ſame ſtriking manner with the practices of ARTHMIUS of Zelis againſt Athens. That ſubtle emiſſary was ſent into Greece with large ſums of money to foment the diviſions of Athens and Sparta; but his intrigues being diſcovered, a brazen column was erected in the citadel of this city, and the following inſcription engraven upon it by a decree of the people:

"ARTHMIUS of Zelis, the ſon of PYTHONAX, is de-"clared infamous and accurſed, a public enemy of Athens "and her allies, for having brought the gold of Media into

" Peloponneſus; and let all his poſterity be involved in this " execration."

P.

LETTER LV.

CLEANDER to HIPPIAS.

I engaged lately in converſation with an Athenian, on the ſubject of the extraordinary victories obtained by Greece over XERXES and his generals. Surely, ſaid I, there muſt be ſome ſecret enchantment in the ſound of liberty, which could inſpire a handful of men with reſolution enough to oppoſe, and even defeat the formidable millions of Aſia. A free people, anſwered he, will always borrow courage from deſpair. In that important juncture, the Grecians had nothing to expect but from their own valour, and every thing to fear from the power of their enemies. Inured from their infancy to the toils of war, and the cultivation of a barren ſoil, they were eaſily enabled from a ſort of conſtitutional vigour, to overcome the effeminate voluptuaries of the Eaſt. Well educated in an honeſt ſimplicity of manners, they deſpiſed and bore up againſt the terrible menaces of oppreſſion. An undaunted greatneſs of mind is incompatible with ſervile reſtraint or timorous dependance, and the name of country cannot warm the hearts of thoſe who enjoy none. What reaſon has a ſlave to be prodigal of life? Does the event of a battle, deciſive to the intereſts of his lord, grow doubtful? Unconcerned for the iſſue of the day, he either ſurrenders to the enemy at diſcretion, or endeavours to fly from the danger. As he has no reputation to loſe, he conſiders that he has none to hope for. He is

ſenſible, that he expoſes himſelf only for the ſecurity of a tyrant; nor can he expect thoſe rewards, which are the proper attendants on virtue. To ſuch an one, a change of governors ſeems abſolutely indifferent, nay, rather deſirable; ſince he may entertain thoughts of bettering his condition under a new maſter, from the impoſſibility that it can ever be altered for the worſe under any. But who is he, that can rightly be prodigal of life? It is the inhabitant of a commonwealth, one jealous of his fame and his freedom, and juſtly preferring death with honour to life with ignominy. As he is an happy man, the apprehenſion of a change alarms him; he prudently guards againſt the approach of it, and bravely defends his own and the public welfare in oppoſing it. He then becomes a benefactor to the ſtate, and the gratitude of the ſtate is his due; a gratitude unmixed with the baſe alloy of envy, and flowing from the hearts of his citizens. The ſubjects of the King of Perſia—Methinks, ſaid I interrupting him, I know your ſentiment before you utter it: but will not the munificence of the king of Perſia toward the vaſſals, who diſtinguiſh themſelves in his ſervice, make amends for liberty, and prove as ſtrong an inducement to the laudable exerciſe of valour? Beſides this, the awe of his power is a ſpur to action, no where to be found in a free republic. You are miſtaken, anſwered he; laws, as they are ſteady and uniform, command a more ſacred reverence than arbitrary power. The Greeks know what penalties they incur, in offending againſt the conſtitution of their country: the Aſiatics are in a precarious ſubjection to the humour of a maſter; and thoſe obey with pleaſure, but theſe with reluctance. It was not intended by providence, that the human race ſhould ſuffer itſelf to be loaded with the ſhackles of oppreſſion; and the tempers of a people muſt be long and painfully broken to it, before they can be able to bear it; for nature in this as well as other inſtances is apt to recoil

ſtubbornly on the man who warps it. True valour is only the companion of liberty; hence is it, that the Grecians in the field of battle are animated by an eagerneſs to defend their deareſt poſſeſſions, which raiſes their courage in the very criſis when it is moſt wanted. The ſlaves of Perſia are preſſed on to fight by the iron rod of arbitrary chaſtiſement, which extinguiſhes every ſpark of their courage, while they are engaging in a ſcene of action that requires their utmoſt. In a word, the fear of puniſhment can never maintain its ground againſt the generous enthuſiaſm of freedom; ſince it is not the power of a prince, which can force, but it is every man's zeal for his own preſervation, which muſt excite to the efforts of valour. Lives there a Grecian inſenſible, that the intereſt of individuals is contained in that of the whole. No, and it is the ſenſe of this truth, which puts every individual on contributing to ſecure the whole. This principle, CLEANDER, is more extenſive in its influence, than the moſt powerful monarch of the earth; and the ſpirit of liberty will exert itſelf to defend the enjoyments of liberty. Here my Athenian ended, and I made no reply. The blood roſe into my countenance upon hearing his reproaches: I was vexed at his diſregard for the conſtitution of Perſia, but afraid to betray my peculiar attachment to it. I excuſed my confuſion however by telling him, that I had forgot ſome buſineſs, which was the cauſe of it, and appointed to give him another meeting. Forgive, deareſt HIPPIAS, the weakneſs of thy brother, if he was much troubled at the ſeverity of theſe reflections; yet why ſhould he blame their ſeverity, when alas! he had more reaſon to be troubled at the truth of them? Adieu.

From Athens. C.

LETTER LVI.

CLEANDER to HIPPIAS.

THE next day I ſaw my friend again, and we reſumed the ſubject of liberty. If I miſtake not, ſaid I to him, you ſeemed to think, the laſt time I converſed with you, that a man of merit could never be ſure of his reward under a monarch; that he was in a precarious ſubjection, as you expreſſed it, to the humour of a maſter: but can any thing be more capricious than the favour of a popular ſtate? In Athens, let an honeſt citizen have done any extraordinary ſervice to day, he knows not but he may be baniſhed for it to-morrow. And foraſmuch as the mind of a multitude is more flux and variable than the temper of a prudent prince, a dependance on the eſteem of the former muſt be much more uncertain, than a confidence in the goodneſs of the latter. Beſide, the jealouſies and particular intereſts of private perſons will frequently make a great impreſſion on the inclinations of a whole community. Is the military glory of THEMISTOCLES to be diſgraced, the political wiſdom of PERICLES deſpiſed, or the upright integrity of ARISTIDES reviled? The whimſical *many*, who weigh none of their reſolutions in the ſcale of reaſon, fall naturally in with the propoſition. Theſe admired miniſters are degraded, and exiled from their country. For what? To make room for the very dregs and refuſe of the people; to admit mere demagogues inſtead of able politicians, and to exchange the true prudence and ſound eloquence of the one, for the ſhallow ſchemes and falſe oratory of the other. The

law of oſtraciſm, anſwered he, which you would inſinuate to be ſo baneful to the Athenian intereſts, is a very excellent and wiſe inſtitution, and may be conſidered as a ſtrong bulwark to defend and protect the purity of a republican government. It is not lightly nor wantonly put in execution, ſince there muſt be at leaſt ſix thouſand citizens concurring to the puniſhment. Equality is the very life of a commonwealth; and you muſt allow, that by the maxims of a jealous ſtate ſome alarm may reaſonably be taken at ſuperior merit. A ſoul ſo elevated is thought incapable of moderation, and a deſire of glory ſo paſſionate is hardly to be diſtinguiſhed from a dangerous ambition. The Athenians have always been deſirous of curbing thoſe, who have puſhed themſelves too forward; of reducing them into the ſame rank with their countrymen, from which perhaps they were at firſt unavoidably advanced by the pre-eminence of their characters, or the neceſſity of the times. They remember the tyranny of PISISTRATUS and his ſons, who were formerly no more than plain citizens on a level with the reſt: they hold always in view the fate of Epheſus and other Grecian colonies: they bear in memory the aſpiring temper of PAUSANIAS in Lacedæmon, and how were it poſſible to divine, but that THEMISTOCLES, ARISTIDES, CIMON and PERICLES, would embroil their city in diſſention, and treat it in the ſame manner. This kind of baniſhment hath nothing ſhameful or diſhonourable; it is not termed the puniſhment of iniquity, but is in fact the depreſſion of exalted power. It may he ſtiled a gentle mitigation of envy; for by fixing this diſgrace upon a ſupreme officer in the commonwealth, the ſting of malice can injure him no farther, and the arrows of hatred, which were pointed at him, loſe their force. It is a ſure method of quieting the minds of the people, and prevents them from proceeding to meaſures of more violence againſt the exile. He is ſuffered to enjoy his eſtate without forfeiture; he poſſeſſes the rights and privileges of a citizen,

with hopes in the interim of being re-eſtabliſhed in authority. Thus thou mayeſt obſerve, that a man is not at once diſcarded by this law from the protection of his country; none of the links which attach him to her intereſt are broken; he need not therefore reſort for ſuccour to the reſolutions of deſpair. Hence it is, that the perſons, whoſe names I have recited, never entered into any unjuſt confederacies againſt their native Athens, but on the contrary preſerved an unſhaken fidelity in its ſervice. Again, this cuſtom of oſtraciſm hath a further good conſequence, that it effectually ſecures us from civil war and bloodſhed. Are there ſeveral, who ſtruggle at the ſame time for ſuperiority? Do they endeavour to diſtract the commonwealth by different parties? There ſeems no way ſo effectual to deliver the conſtitution from deſtruction, as the ſending thoſe out of its boſom, who can lay no reſtraint on their ambition. Hence the frame of the republic is entire; for from the apprehenſion of this law, our conſiderable citizens apply all their abilities to increaſe the proſperity of the ſtate, inſtead of ſupporting their perſonal power; they ſtrive to aggrandize that, and their emulation is by this means converted to laudable purſuits. If the people take offence at their conduct, they are diſmiſſed for a term of years in the way already mentioned. They have time given them to reflect coolly on their raſhneſs, and inſtruct themſelves from the feeling leſſons of experience in the vanity of every competition, except that which every honeſt man ſhould engage in; I mean contending, who ſhall moſt contribute to the welfare of their country. Yes, replied I interrupting him, I underſtand what you mean. The enemies of a great man are pleaſed to honour the unworthy ends of their malice with the name of political wiſdom; and the people of Athens are ſo good as to indulge them in ſaying, they were afraid of his ambition, when in truth they were envious of his reputation. However, to do you juſtice, you have urged more on behalf of the law, than I ever yet heard, or

than I believed the matter would bear. But I beſeech you, what ſuſpicion could you poſſibly entertain of THEMISTOCLES, who had done ſo much to ſave the common liberties of Greece; who is even thought to have poiſoned himſelf in the court of ARTAXERXES, becauſe he would not engage in any enterprize to the prejudice of his country? What umbrage could the generoſity of CIMON give to the Athenians, who ſeems to have been ſo ſtrongly touched with the principles of benevolence, that he would have ſcorned to raiſe his own power on the ruins of a free republic? And what could you fear from the ſanctity of ARISTIDES, who adminiſtered the money of all Greece with that diſintereſtedneſs, which becomes a man intruſted with the treaſures of another; with that diligence, which one uſually exerciſes in the management of one's own affairs; who gained love and eſteem in that office, which is generally expoſed to odium? Happy Athens! that couldſt find a good man zealous in thy ſervice, after the baniſhment of ARISTIDES, with whom goodneſs itſelf was exiled! Surely when ſo many, and I may ſay, only virtuous miniſters have ſuffered by the law of oſtraciſm, it is high time to aboliſh this wretched tool of faction and ſedition. A tree may be judged of from the fruit that it produces, and a law may be known by the effects derived from it. Without doubt, interpoſed he, there is truth in what you ſay, but it is truth carried too far. No law can be made to ſuit every particular caſe. The legiſlator muſt conſult for that, which upon the whole is right. The wiſeſt inſtitutions are often attended with inconveniences; and can you wonder, that the beſt law ſhould ſometimes be followed by the worſt miſchiefs? No, returned I with ſome warmth, no miſchiefs are to be wondered at in that ſtate, where a man's merit, inſtead of gaining him the love of his citizens, recommends him to nothing but diſgrace. Good heavens! can there be a ſurer ſign of univerſal frenzy in a commonwealth,

than the puniſhing great virtues with a ſeverity only due to the baſeſt of vices; and rewarding high ſervices and the nobleſt atchievements with ſuch black unthankfulneſs? Are ye not aſhamed to puniſh this crime by law, wherever it is found in private perſons, and yet permit it to remain unpuniſhed in the public? Could your ſtate be tried by any other city, and called to an account for its uſage of theſe excellent patriots, your ſubtilties would ſtand you in no ſtead, nor could your orators invent an anſwer. At preſent indeed you are ſecure from the cenſure or reſentment of the illuſtrious ſhades, who were injured by your anceſtors. No murmurs of complaint are heard amongſt them; but notwithſtanding their tongues are ſilenced by the neceſſity of the grave, all ages and nations will agree to curſe the barefaced ingratitude of Athens. Adieu.

From Athens. C.

The end of the third year of the Peloponneſian war.

A. M. 3576. *1ſt. year of the* 88*th Olymp.*
The 4*th year of the Peloponneſian war.*

LETTER LVII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS. From Athens.

IN a former * letter, noble Scribe, I laid before thee ſome account of the three chief branches of the Athenian conſtitution, the ſenate of 500, the aſſembly of the people, and the Areopagus. The ſubject is ſo far from being exhauſted, that I ſhall proceed to give thee a further view into the nature of their civil government, and the different juriſdictions of the magiſtrates. Thou muſt have already obſerved, that the form of all theſe republican conſtitutions is pretty complex, and the legiſlative as well as executive power divided into a great number of hands, in order to preſerve that equality of conditions, and rotation of authority, which they look upon as the baſis and chief ſecurity of their liberties.

The nine Archons, with all the other magiſtrates of the ſtate, enter upon their reſpective charges the firſt day of the month Hecatombæon, which begins the year, and is cele-

* Letter XIII.

brated with ſolemn ſacrifices, and all other expreſſions of rejoicing.

The Archons are elected by lot; but before they are admitted to the exerciſe of their offices, are obliged to undergo a double examination in the ſenate and forum, and to take a very ſtrict oath in the royal portico. The firſt in the commiſſion, who by way of preheminence is called the Archon, gives name to the year, determines in all cauſes of wills and legacies, and regulates the diverſions of the theatre. To the ſecond, (who probably in memory of their kings is ſtyled Baſileus) the care of religion, the conduct of the prieſts, and the inſpection of the Eleuſinian myſteries are committed. The Polemarchus, or general, who is the third, has under his management the diſcipline of the troops, and the care of the ſtrangers reſiding at Athens, over whom he exerciſes a kind of judicial authority. Six go under the common title of Theſmothetæ, and are the guardians of the laws. It is their duty to ſee, that none are enacted, but ſuch as conduce to the public good. All controverſies in matters of trade fall under their cognizance, and they have the honourable diſtinction of regiſtring public leagues and contracts. If either of the three principal magiſtrates, by reaſon of his youth, is leſs ſkilled in the laws and cuſtoms of his country, it is uſual for him to chuſe two perſons of age, experience, and reputation, as his aſſiſtants, who are called Paredroi. The Nomothetæ are a thouſand in number. Their office is from time to time to inſpect the old laws; and if they find any, that are grown obſolete, contradictory, or uſeleſs, to lay the matter before the people for their determination. The Strategoi, or generals of their armies, are ten in number, one out of every tribe. They have each a day of command in their turns. I will not enter into a tireſome detail of the other magiſtracies amongſt the Athenians: it is ſufficient to ſay, that they are very numerous, and ſhare amongſt them

the different branches of power, from the care of the public revenues to that of regulating the women's apparel, and providing lights and torches at public entertainments.

At the end of the year, the magiſtrates, who go out of office, are obliged to give in a ſtrict account of their conduct to the people. The Areopagus, the Senate, the Trierarchs, in ſhort every public officer, who is either choſen by lot in the temple of THESEUS, or voted for by the extenſion of hands in the aſſemblies of the people, is obliged to undergo a ſevere examination of his behaviour, before he is entitled either to any honorary mark of diſtinction, or reward for his ſervices. And what is much ſtronger, the law enjoins, that till he has performed this duty, he ſhall not be permitted to conſecrate his patrimony to religious uſes, make any offering to the gods, or be adopted into another family, or even diſpoſe of his effects by will. In a word, the accountable magiſtrate can no longer be ſaid to enjoy the property of his poſſeſſions, but is actually ſuſpended from a power of diſpoſing of them, till it appears, that he has acquitted himſelf like a good citizen in the ſervices committed to his care.

There is nothing deſerves more attention in the Athenian conſtitution, than the nature of their courts of juſtice, and the manner of their judiciary proceſs. Beſides what I formerly mentioned of the Areopagus, I ſhall here add ſome further particulars relating to it, and ſhall conclude with a brief account of their other tribunals. The judges of the Areopagus have three ſtated meetings every month; when they are met, they divide themſelves into different committees, to each of which a certain number of cauſes are aſſigned by lot. They uſe this method of proceeding, that every one of the judges being ignorant what particular cauſe will be referred to his determination, may lie under no biaſs from intereſt or cor-

ruption. Before the trial begins, the plaintiff and defendant by ſolemn oaths call the gods to witneſs the ſincerity of their proceedings. The former is placed upon a ſilver ſtool, called the ſtool of *Injury*; the latter upon another, called the ſtool of *Innocence*. Then the pleadings begin, which the parties ſometimes compoſe themſelves, but generally employ ſome orator to place their arguments in the moſt advantageous light. They are limited as to the time of ſpeaking, and are tied down to ſtate only the plain matter of fact, and reaſon from it, without uſing either rhetorical embelliſhments to amuſe, or moving expreſſions to raiſe the compaſſion of the judges. After the cauſe has been fully heard, the judges give their opinions: thoſe, who acquit the defendant, caſt their votes into a brazen urn; thoſe, who condemn him, caſt theirs into one of wood. When the ſuffrages are equal, the ſide, which is favourable to the priſoner, is always taken. If the caſe is not capital, he names himſelf the puniſhment, which he thinks he has deſerved, and the judges determine it from his opinion. The ſentences of this court have always been held in the higheſt veneration, for their exact conformity to the laws; and its members are in ſuch repute for wiſdom and integrity, that foreign ſtates have ſubmitted their differences to their arbitration; particularly the Meſſenians made that offer to the Spartans, when thoſe two ſtates were at variance. The Athenians themſelves ſay, that let any one of an irregular diſſolute courſe of life be admitted into this court, he immediately lays aſide his former vicious inclinations, and is adopted as it were into the virtues, as well as the number of that venerable tribunal. Beſides the Areopagus the Athenians have four other courts, which take cognizance of capital offences, called the Palladian, the Delphinian, the Prytanean, and the Phreatian. The firſt of theſe was rendered by DRACO ſuperior to the Areopagus, but SOLON afterwards leſſened its power. The number of judges is

fifty-one. The Delphinian tribunal ſit in the temple of the Delphic Apollo, and try thoſe murders, wherein the fact is owned, but the defence alledges, that the laws gave the accuſed a power of committing it, as in the caſe of adultery. The Prytaneum is of a very odd conſtitution; and thou wilt imagine I am not in earneſt, when I tell thee of what nature the cauſes are, which come before them. If a piece of wood or ſtone, a ſword, in ſhort any thing inanimate, kills a man either by accident, or the direction of an unknown hand, it is tried before this court, and upon conviction ordered to be caſt out of the territories of Athens. The Phreatian court is ſo called from an ancient hero, and determines the cauſes of ſtrangers, who fly out of their own country for murder, and are apprehended within the limits of the Athenian ſtate.

Theſe are the courts of judicature for criminal cauſes. Thoſe for civil are in number five; but I ſhall not trouble thee with an account of any but the Heliæa, ſo called from its being an open place, and expoſed to the ſun. The judges of this court are appointed by lot out of the body of the people, and their number varies according to the exigency of affairs, being ſometimes reduced to fifty, and at others increaſed to an hundred. The oath they take is very ſolemn; they ſwear by JUPITER, NEPTUNE, and CERES, to give ſentence according to the laws and the decrees of the people and ſenate of Athens, to maintain the preſent conſtitution, to take no bribes, to hear both ſides impartially, and to ſuffer no man to be elected into any office, who has not given in his accounts. The manner of their judicial proceeding is as follows: after the cauſe has been regiſtered in the court by the proper officer, and a day appointed for an hearing, the indictment of the plaintiff is read by a public crier; then the defendant may endeavour to wave off entring upon the merits of the caſe, by putting

in one of these three pleas; first, that the time, wherein the accusation ought to have been preferred, was elapsed; secondly, that the sickness of himself or principal witnesses rendered it impossible for him to make a proper defence; or lastly, that he could retort the indictment preferred against him upon his adversary. If these pleas are either not offered or not allowed, the cause proceeds in the usual course. That the time of the court may not be unnecessarily taken up, an hour-glass of water limits the orations of each. When the pleadings are over, the judges give sentence, by casting beans into two urns, which are opened, and a magistrate stands with a rod in his hand to number the beans, and decides as they come out. The cause is no sooner determined, than a tablet containing the nature of it, and the names of the parties, which during the time of its being in suspense hangs up at a public place, called the heroes statues, is ordered to be taken down. The judges depositе their sceptres, the badges of their office, at the temple of LYCUS, and receive the reward of two or three oboli for their service.

From this general view of the Athenian constitution in its most distinguished branches, I believe thou wilt concur with me in opinion, that were its parts less complex, and the whole modelled into a narrower compass, it would be not only more perfect, but more likely to be durable. The number of the courts of judicature in particular is a great burden to the state, as they tend to break the course of justice, and render the progress of it expensive and troublesome. Many of the poorer sort procure themselves to be elected into these tribunals for the sake of the oboli, that are paid them, when they have discharged their office. Such arbitrators inflame every trifling difference, instead of reconciling it, and add fuel to the litigious and quarrelsome temper of their countrymen. It were to be wished, that

the wiſdom of their judges was equal to that of their laws; but an account of them I reſerve for the ſubject of another letter. Farewel.

P.

LETTER LVIII.

GOBRYAS to CLEANDER. From Suſa.

THY laſt diſpatch, as it concerns us very nearly, adds likewiſe in the higheſt degree to the merit of thy ſervices; and the ſpeedy return we make to it from hence will convince thee, that the affair and its conſequences are eſteemed of ſingular importance. Thy letter, by the king's direction, was laid before the ſupream council of ſeven, which thou knoweſt is compoſed of ARTÆUS, preſident of the tribunal of juſtice, ARIMASPES the Archimagus, MEGABYZUS, TERIBAZUS, treaſurer of Perſia, ASPATHINES, maſter of the poſts, INTAPHERNES, and myſelf. The remarkable manner, in which thou cameſt to the knowledge of this treaſonable correſpondence, and the particulars, which thou haſt extracted from the letters themſelves, left us no room to doubt of thy intelligence; and therefore we laid it as our unanimous opinion before the king, that the traitor ſhould be immediately apprehended. At the hour of ſhutting the palace-gates, a party of eunuchs belonging to the guard of the women's apartments arreſted SACAS, and ſecured his papers. Upon examining them it appeared, that ſince PERICLES's death he had deſtroyed the papers that paſſed between them; there remained only a few letters from MAZEUS, but in them was ſufficient evidence to convict him. For in one he expreſly calls SACAS the *Friend of*

Athens; and in another deſires him to tranſmit to PERICLES the terms, on which he would riſe in arms againſt his ſovereign. He was examined the next day before the tribunal of juſtice, but behaved with a ſullen reſerve, till the ſeverity of torture drew from him a confeſſion of his perfidious practices. He would never be induced to ſay, that any other perſon was concerned with him, except one ſlave, whom he had ſent twice with letters to Athens, and poiſoned at his return to prevent a diſcovery. His uſual manner of conveying his diſpatches was, to ſend them encloſed to a merchant of Athens, one PHILO, under a pretence, that they were commiſſions from the ladies of the palace to purchaſe Grecian curioſities. After ſo full a confeſſion, and the written teſtimony of MAZEUS's letters, he was ſentenced to ſuffer capital puniſhment, after the laws of Perſia, and condemned to the * Boat. But in the night, that preceded the day appointed for his execution, the queen mother, from whoſe ſlave he was firſt advanced to a low office in the palace gardens, made very preſſing inſtances, that his life ſhould be ſpared, and himſelf condemned only to a perpetual impriſonment at Cyrta upon the Red-ſea. Several ladies of the palace, particularly ARSINOE, the fair Damaſcan, united their intereſts to hers; and our monarch, divided between the reſpect, which he always pays to the

* The puniſhment of the boat was peculiar to the Perſians, and of a very ſtrange nature. They took two boats framed exactly to fit and anſwer each other. The malefactor, who ſuffered, was laid down upon his back in one of them, and covered with the other, in which were holes cut big enough for his head and eyes to appear at. Then they offered him food, which they compelled him to eat by pricking his eyes. The drink they gave him was a mixture of honey and water, pouring it not only down his throat, but over his face, which being kept turned towards the ſun, and beſmeared with this potion, was always covered with vaſt numbers of flies and other inſects. In this teazing and painful condition the criminal generally languiſhed ſeveral days before he expired, and afforded a moſt noiſome ſpectacle to the by-ſtanders. Note by the tranſlator.

leaſt requeſt of his mother, and the prevalence, which love has over the moſt generous natures, on one hand, and the ſafety of his empire, and the inviolable obſervance of juſtice on the other, has ordered the execution to be reſpited. However the miniſters continue to preſs earneſtly, that the laws may take their courſe; and it is urged, that the puniſhment of SACAS may be a real clemency to others, who otherwiſe may be incited to renew the like practices from obſerving, in the preſent caſe, that they are paſſed over with impunity. One traitor is however ſecured; for a courier is juſt arrived with the head of MAZEUS, the late governor of Phrygia; and orders are diſpatched to put to death ARGESTES, which he already deſerved for his male-adminiſtration of Lydia. I will not conceal from thee, that theſe executions have occaſioned no ſmall faction and intrigue in the court. The friends of SACAS, and the relations of MAZEUS and ARGESTES, ſome of whom are of the moſt conſiderable families in the empire, put every method in practice, to inveſtigate from what quarter theſe treaſons were diſcovered. But thou mayſt reſt aſſured, CLEANDER, that thy letters are ſhewn to none but thoſe of the ſecret council; and no care ſhall be omitted, that may contribute towards thy ſafety, which, as long as I have any influence, ſhall be equally ſecure with my own.

PYRACMON the Spartan tells me, that an agent from Lacedemon will ſhortly arrive here, with fuller powers and leſs limited inſtructions. If we ever proceed ſo far with him as to draw up a plan for a league between the Great King and the Lacedemonians, we ſhall inſiſt, that no peace be made with Athens, till they agree to aboliſh that article in CIMON's peace, which reſtrains our navigation. Otherwiſe the aſſiſtance we ſhall afford them will be real and effectual to their advantage; and the obligations they lay themſelves under with regard to us merely nominal.

I have orders from the king to acquaint thee, that whenever the ſcene of buſineſs at Athens requires a leſs particular attendance, thou mayſt take an opportunity of ſurveying the moſt remarkable parts of Greece, and ſend us accounts, as well of the general face of the country, as the cuſtoms and policies of its different ſtates. The time and manner of performing this journey are left to thy judgment; but in order to defray any expences it may occaſion, and to reward thee for thy late ſignal ſervice, TERIBAZUS the treaſurer is directed to tranſmit to thee 2000 Darics by the hands of thy brother the merchant.

P.

LETTER LIX.

CLEANDER to SMERDIS.

IN a former letter * I told thee of an extraordinary philoſopher, who hath appeared within theſe few years in the town of Athens. And as thy attention muſt of courſe be raiſed to hear, that ſo much learning exiſts among the Greeks, it is my deſign in the preſent to give thee an account of ſome, who have been eſteemed in this part of the world for the ſuperiority of their wiſdom, and the remarkable ſanctity of their manners. To ſay nothing of the Ionic and Italic ſchools, which in their turns have produced perſons of great eminence and abilities, I ſhall entirely confine myſelf to ſpeak of the ſeven ſage contemporaries of Greece.

* Letter LII.

THALES of Miletus, who is generally counted in the number, was founder of the Ionic ſect: the reſt are BIAS and CLEOBULUS of Caria, CHILON and MYSON of Laconia, SOLON of Athens, and PITTACUS of Mitylene. They were ſo highly reſpected by their countrymen, as to be diſtinguiſhed by the honourable title, which I have juſt now mentioned. Nor indeed is it to be wondered at, if ſuch ſingular regard was paid to them, ſince however deficient their doctrines may ſeem in more enlightened times, yet methinks a natural reverence is due to thoſe, who firſt opened the avenues to philoſophy, and were the earlieſt improvers of human reaſon. The particular accident, which is ſaid to have been the occaſion, that this title was beſtowed on them, is thus related by the Grecian annaliſts. Some Mileſian fiſhers having taken a ſilver tripod in one of their nets, were not able to agree among themſelves, to whom the property of it ſhould belong, and therefore referred the matter in diſpute to the oracle at Delphi. The oracle pronounced it ſhould be given to the wiſeſt man. Accordingly it was ſent to THALES, who modeſtly declined accepting it; and ſo it paſſed from one to another of theſe philoſophers, till it was at laſt dedicated by SOLON to the god APOLLO. When it was brought to MYSON, the perſons charged with it were received by him in the habit of a menial ſlave working on his own grounds. Happy times of primitive ſimplicity, when a wiſe man was known by no other token than his virtue!

I proceed to THALES. He was born in the firſt year of the thirty-fifth olympiad, and was the moſt celebrated geometrician, naturaliſt, and aſtronomer of the age he lived in. But I ſhall not preſent him to thee, SMERDIS, in any one of theſe regards; and chuſe rather to conſider him in the capacity of a moral teacher. For as thou, in the character of a religious inſtructor, art more verſed in precepts for the

conduct of life, than the idle researches of science; so thou art better pleased with the professors of the former, than the latter. THALES, having received several questions from AMASIS, the king of Ægypt, sent him the following answer to each of them: "Wouldst thou be informed, what is "oldest? 'Tis God, because he is a being from eternity. "Wouldst thou know, what is greatest? 'Tis space, because "the world contains all things, but that contains the world. "Wouldst thou be satisfied, what is fairest? 'Tis the earth, "because it is exquisitely contrived and disposed. Wouldst "thou be told, what is wisest? 'Tis time, because it dis-"covers the most secret transactions. Wouldst thou be ac-"quainted, what is common to all men? 'Tis hope, for when "every possession is gone, that abides with us. Dost thou "ask, what is best? It is virtue, for it sweetens the enjoy-"ments of life. Dost thou ask, what is worst? It is vice, "for it corrupts every good. Dost thou enquire, what is "strongest? 'Tis necessity, because that alone is invincible. "Dost thou enquire, what is most agreeable? 'Tis to obey "the dictates of nature, and pursue the ends she has marked "out." As he had spent the best part of his paternal fortune in literary pursuits, his friends reprimanded him one day severely for his neglect of it; but he told them, that a wise man was always rich, while a rich man had seldom the happiness to be wise. And upon their asking him, what advantage he had reaped from his acquirements in knowledge, he answered, he would soon give them a remarkable instance of it. In short, having foreseen by some physical observations, that it would be a fruitful year, he bargained with the inhabitants of Miletus for the produce of their olive-trees in the ensuing season. From these he extracted a large quantity of oil, the profits of which proved a considerable revenue to him. When his acquaintance came to congratulate him on this success, he generously distributed his gains to the necessitous, adding, that it was the duty of a philosopher to

eſteem money at a low rate. They tell of him, that in a conference, which he held with a philoſopher of Priene, relating to his extraordinary method of calculating the proportion, that the ſun's body bears to the orbit he deſcribes in his annual courſe, the Prienæan admiring the acuteneſs of THALES and the beauty of the invention, intreated him to command any reward, which it lay in his power to beſtow on him; but THALES made him this anſwer, "I require "no other reward from you, than that you ſhould not arro- "gate to yourſelf the credit of the invention; but if ever "you impart it to others, inform them of the true author. "The wiſeſt men are by no means contemners of glory; "much leſs ſhould I, who am very far from the poſſeſſions "of wiſdom, be pleaſed with any man, who would unjuſtly "uſurp to himſelf the honour of thoſe diſcoveries, which "might otherwiſe redound to my own reputation." A queſtion was one day put to him, whether it were poſſible for a man to conceal his actions from the gods: "Impoſſible, "ſaid he, becauſe they are even acquainted with our "thoughts." He uſed to thank providence for three things, that he was born a reaſonable being, and not a brute; a man, and not a woman; a Greek, and not a barbarian. His love of liberty and independence was ſuch, that during his reſidence in the palace of AMASIS, he made himſelf obnoxious to the miniſters by the freedom and boldneſs of his converſation. In particular he expreſſed his abhorrence of tyranny ſo ſtrongly, that it gave offence to the king, who could never be eaſy, till he had ſent him away with ſome notable marks of his diſpleaſure. The reflection which chiefly enraged them, was this, "that of all wild beaſts a tyrant is the "worſt, and of all tame beaſts a flatterer." Thus was THALES an excellent philoſopher, but a bad courtier! This however happened fortunately for Greece, ſince by that means he was forced back into his native country, which he

enriched with thoſe invaluable treaſures of learning, that he brought from Ægypt.

BIAS was deſcended of a noble family in Priene. He had a natural talent for eloquence, which he ſo improved by practice, that his name as an orator grew famous over all Greece. To tell a pleader, that he had performed at the bar of a court of juſtice like BIAS of Priene, was for many years thought the higheſt compliment, that could have decently been paid to any one. The moſt remarkable ſtory, that is told of him, I find to be this. When ARDYS, who ſucceeded GYGES on the throne of Lydia, took the city of Priene by ſtorm, and was juſt preparing to give it up to the plunder of his ſoldiers, the inhabitants were diligently employed in removing their effects. In the midſt of this general conſternation, BIAS, alone appeared not concerned for the event; and being admoniſhed by ſome of his acquaintance to follow their example, he immediately anſwered them, "You are miſtaken, if you think I am unmindful of my "affairs; for all that is mine I carry with me." There is one precept of his, which bears hard upon his character, viz. "That we ſhould ever behave towards an enemy, as "if he might become our friend; and towards a friend, as "if he might become our enemy." The firſt part of it, which regards our conduct to an enemy, is a wiſe and rational reflection; but the laſt part, that regards our conduct to a friend, ſeems deſtructive of ſocial happineſs and the pleaſure reſulting from the unreſerved overflowings of affection. The different circumſtances and caſualties of my life, venerable SMERDIS, (and ſurely various are the trials I have undergone) never gave me occaſion, I confeſs to thee, to believe it a neceſſary maxim. This concluſion however thou wilt naturally draw from it, that the philoſopher, who imparted this ſevere advice to the world, muſt have entruſted the ſecrets of his heart to a man, who proved afterwards per-

fidious; and the rather, becauſe one would imagine, that nothing could have extorted it from him, but his own fatal experience of the corruption and fickleneſs of human nature. How much better is the generous principle of his countryman CLEOBULUS, that "Enemies are to be reclaimed by "a gentle forbearance, and friends to be preſerved by a cor-"dial benevolence!" The life of this philoſopher was not diſtinguiſhed by any intereſting events. It is known of him in general, that he lived happily in the office of principal magiſtrate in his city, and was bleſſed by providence with an extraordinary daughter. She was a celebrated compoſer of ænigmas, many of which ſhe ſent into Ægypt to be ſolved by the ſagacity of the learned. Though her father was very attentive to the management of his paſſions, yet ſhe was of great ſervice to him in moderating thoſe unguarded ſtarts of anger, which were apt to break from him; a circumſtance the more agreeable to CLEOBULUS, as it was accompanied with all the amiable ſimplicity of real tenderneſs and duty!

CHILON poſſeſſed the dignity of an Ephorus in Lacedæmon. Being aſked by ÆSOP the fabuliſt, what he thought moſt difficult, he replied, "to keep a ſecret, and to bear an in-"jury." He wrote a letter to PERIANDER of Corinth, in which he told him, that "it was impoſſible for a tyrant to be "ſafe; and he might eſteem himſelf ſingularly fortunate, if "he died peaceably in his bed." In his old age he declared among his intimates, that he was not conſcious he had ever done any thing inconſiſtent with his duty, except that in a conteſt between one, whom he loved, and another, whom he had no regard for, he was unwilling to determine either againſt his friend or the law, and ſo perſuaded him to appeal to a different tribunal, where he might hope to be acquitted. How few are there, who like CHILON, at the cloſe of a long life, can accuſe their judgment but once of being warped by partiality!

MYSON was in inhabitant of the town of Chæna. Notwithſtanding his father was governor of the place, he ſeems to have neglected thoſe honours, to which his birth and rank did naturally call him, and to have retired from the noiſe of public buſineſs to his little farm, confining himſelf to the culture of his lands, and the improvement of his own mind.

I come now to SOLON. Were I to give thee a particular account of his inſtitutions, this letter would ſwell into a volume; nor will I endeavour to deſcribe to thee the rapturous veneration, which the Athenians pay to his memory, ſince an attempt of that ſort could only preſent thee with a faint idea of it. Beſides, thou mayſt perceive it is no part of my deſign, to conſider him as a wiſe law-giver or a ſuperior politician, but as he ſtands on an equality with the reſt of theſe ſpeculative philoſophers. Having met with innumerable croſſes, which uſually diſturb a good man in republican governments, SOLON was rather forced by the neceſſity of the times, than tempted by his curioſity, to travel into Ægypt. However while he ſtaid there, he made himſelf well acquainted with the knowledge of the country. On his return to Athens, he found PISISTRATUS inveſted with the ſupreme authority; and though he was his neareſt relation, yet he vigorouſly oppoſed each of his arbitrary meaſures. He told his countrymen, that "in aſſerting their common liberties, he thought "himſelf wiſer than ſome among them, and braver than "others; wiſer than thoſe, who ſuſpected not the intentions "of PISISTRATUS, and braver than thoſe, who ſuſpected "them, but timorouſly concealed their ſentiments." He uſed to ſay, that "laws are like cobwebs; they entangle the "weak and men of low condition, but the rich and the powerful break through them." The ſtory of his conference with CROESUS on the ſubject of happineſs, is well known from the large account of it, that hath been lately publiſhed in the

Clio of HERODOTUS. I imagine a copy of that excellent hiſtory muſt have penetrated into Bactria; and therefore I will not trouble thee with a tedious repetition of what is there recited, nor ſpoil its beauty by contracting it. SOLON, in order to prevent the abuſes, which might ariſe from the extenſive power of the people, created a council of four hundred to be choſen out of the tribes, who were to examine every propoſition, before it was offered to the general aſſembly for their determination. On this head ANACHARSIS the Scythian ſage made a lively remark to him; "Methinks," ſaid he, "it is a ſtrange diſpoſition of your affairs, that you "ſhould ſuffer wiſe men to debate, and leave it to fools to "decide."

PITTACUS was a man of remarkable ſteadineſs in his conduct. He killed the tyrant, who oppreſſed his country, and for that gallant action the people of Mitylene ſubmitted themſelves of their own accord to his authority. He governed them for ten years with ſurpriſing lenity; and when they begun to grow weary of him, he abdicated the regal office. He would frequently exclaim, "How difficult is it for a great "man to be honeſt?" Without doubt, he had experienced, that the life of a prince was one miſerable round of diſſimulation; and that it was ſometimes more neceſſary to ſatisfy the exigencies of ſtate-policy, than the dictates of conſcience. He exhorted his friends to ſecure a retreat within their own boſoms, and to fly from the troubleſome croud of flatterers, which ſurrounded them, to that engaging ſolitude. He ordered a wheel to be placed in the temple at Mitylene, as an emblem of the uncertain courſe of fortune and viciſſitude of things.

I have now laid before thee, venerable SMERDIS, ſuch material particulars, as I have been able to collect, relating to the lives and characters of the wiſe men. Nor can it have

eſcaped thy penetration, that in the maxims, which I have cited from them in the courſe of my letter, they have touched upon thoſe leſſons of wiſdom, which are the moſt improving, and conveyed them to the underſtanding of others with the cleareſt brevity. At the ſame time it muſt be owned, that the ſentences I ſpeak of, though they are certainly very precious remains of their opinions, are yet far from compoſing any regular and conſiſtent ſcheme of philoſophy. Hence is it, that the doctrines of the Grecian ſages ſwarm with various contradictions, while ſome have rejected with diſdain, what others ſupported with obſtinacy. How little then can any or all of them be compared with the inſpired prophet of the Eaſt! If theſe had the happineſs to be bleſſed with any faint dawnings of the light of reaſon; ZOROASTER enjoyed it in its full force and luſtre. If theſe laid down any rational principles of conduct in human life; ZOROASTER underſtood the relations of duty, and revealed a noble ſyſtem of morality. If theſe were eminent among their citizens for philoſophical auſterities; ZOROASTER may be conſidered as a perfect pattern of virtue. If theſe inveſtigated any truths in the knowledge of nature; ZOROASTER was acquainted with all her ſecret wonders and mightieſt operations. If theſe, when they worſhipped that immortal power, who is the provident artiſt, and wiſe governor of the univerſe, confined themſelves to the petty limits of a temple made with hands, and offered ſacrifices on altars of their own erecting; ZOROASTER taught, that the temple of OROMASDES was infinite ſpace, that his altar was the earth, the air, and the heavens. If theſe were of ſervice to one corner of mankind, to their native cities, and the narrow diſtricts of their own communities; the religion of ZOROASTER was not fixed to one place or ſociety of men; it has made its way through innumerable nations of the world. To conclude, the philoſophers, like the gods of Greece, were partial in their knowledge, ſelfiſh in their purſuits, unſettled in their conduct,

contentious in their natures, mean in their affections: ZOROASTER, like his own deity, the great OROMASDES, was boundleſs in knowledge, extenſive in benevolence, uniform in his conduct, undiſturbed in his nature, refined in his affections. In a word, the former were only fitted to perplex the reaſon, and divide the hearts of their countrymen; while the latter was born to clear and improve the one, to enlarge and unite the other. Adieu.

From Athens. C.

LETTER LX.

CLEANDER to MEGABYZUS. From Athens.

HAD I not received thy commands to lay before thee ſome account of the military diſcipline of the Greeks, I ſhould never have ventured to addreſs my remarks on that ſubject to ſo conſummate a captain, who by long experience in the duties of a ſoldier, and the warlike arts of different nations, muſt anticipate every thing, that can be offered, on a ſcience, which the ableſt general now living might be proud to learn under thy enſigns. But my deſire to gain an inſight into every particular in the Athenian policy and cuſtoms, from whence the Perſian miniſtry could expect information, has induced me to extend my enquiries to a part of knowledge, which would otherwiſe have lain out of my ſphere. I ſhall therefore endeavour to comply with thy orders, by ſending thee ſuch obſervations, as I have either had an opportunity of making myſelf, or collected from the diſcourſe of the beſt officers amongſt the Athenians, whoſe tactics throughout this letter I have kept principally in view.

The military force of this republic, and indeed of all the other Grecian ſtates, is compoſed of three ſorts of troops, citizens, allies, and mercenaries. The former, thou mayſt imagine, are held in the higheſt degree of eſteem, and moſt relied upon; the latter being expoſed without concern, and never truſted without neceſſary cautions; and ſince their attachment to the cauſe, for which they fight, is owing to motives of conſtraint or profit, their fidelity is ſometimes ſuſpected.

The young Athenians are early trained up to arms; at the age of eighteen they learn the military exerciſes under the inſpection of able maſters, and enure their bodies to ſuppleneſs and fatigue, by frequenting the ſtadia and wreſtling ſchools. At twenty their names are entered in the public regiſter, after taking a ſolemn oath in the temple of AGRAULES, by which they oblige themſelves "to fight "till the laſt gaſp for the intereſt of religion and the ſtate, "in conjunction with their fellow citizens, or even alone, "if occaſion requires; to encreaſe the proſperity of their "country; to obey the laws enacted by conſent of the peo-"ple; and to oppoſe with all their might thoſe, who ſhall "attempt to alter the conſtitution." When this ceremony is performed, the young men are looked upon as members of the commonwealth, enjoy all the privileges, and are liable to all the duties of citizens; amongſt which that of appearing in arms, whenever the voice of the people requires their ſervice in the field, is none of the leaſt: but in order to enure them to the diſcipline and fatigues of war, they take their turns by detachments to mount guard in the citadel, Piræus, and other forts of Attica, for two years, before they are ſent upon any expedition abroad. The Grecian infantry, in which the ſtrength of their armies conſiſts, is made up of Hoplitai, Pſiloi, and Peltaſtai. The firſt are heavy-armed ſoldiers, who engage with long ſpears, broad

ſhields, and cutting ſwords. The ſecond are light-armed men, who fight with arrows, darts, and ſlings, and are placed either in the van to begin an engagement, or on the flanks of the wings, to gall the enemies cavalry, and prevent their breaking in. The Peltaſtai are a ſort of troops between the two former, ſo called from the narrow targets which they wear. Theſe again are divided into bodies of thouſands, hundreds, and fifties each, commanded by their proper officers, the Chiliarchs, Hekatontarchs, &c. To each company of 120 men 4 ſubalterns are aſſigned; the lieutenant, whoſe poſt is in the rear, the enſign, the trumpeter, the crier, who gives the word of command, and the ſutler, who ſupplies the men with neceſſaries, and waits upon them. The Athenian officers all aſſure me, that amongſt the many advantages their troops have over thoſe of the Eaſt, they reckon theſe ſub-diviſions to be one of the principal. By this means the men perform their exerciſes with more exactneſs and uniformity, move with greater quickneſs, attack with greater force, and have a larger number of officers to watch over their conduct in their quarters, as well as encourage and direct them in a day of battle. Over the foot are placed ten camp-maſters, with the title of Taxiarchoi, choſe by each of the * tribes; they command under the general, [who is always one of the Strategoi elected annually by the people] the infantry of their reſpective tribes, give orders for the marches, review the men, puniſh them for their miſdemeanors, and regulate the diſtribution of victuals to every ſoldier. The cavalry are divided into ſquadrons under their proper officers, two of whom are called Hipparchoi, and have the ſame

* Their names are the Egean, the Erecthian, the Cecropian, the Pandionian, the Acamantian, Antiochian, Leontian, Oenian, Hippothoonian, and Ajacian. The reader may ſee in POTTER's Antiquities the ſeveral diviſions of theſe tribes into Demoi or boroughs. Note by the tranſlator.

juriſdiction over them as the Taxiarchoi have over the foot: but the Grecian cavalry is not very numerous; and in this reſpect I ſhould think the Perſian armies were far their ſuperiors, when they have generals at their head, who know how to make uſe of ſo material an advantage. The † Hippeis or horſemen at Athens compoſe the ſecond order of citizens, and are required to have a certain annual revenue, and to maintain a horſe at their own charge; but they do not amount to 1200 at the moſt. The Lacedemonians are likewiſe but indifferently ſupplied with cavalry; the beſt of theirs comes from Sciros, a town not far diſtant from Sparta. Indeed a very natural reaſon is to be aſſigned for their deficiency in this branch of their armies; for as Attica and Peloponneſus are mountainous and rough countries, there is no opportunity or encouragement to train up a breed of horſes for the ſervice; and thoſe they have can be of little uſe in military operations from the ſituation of the ground. The cavalry of the Theſſalians, who poſſeſs large and extended plains, is moſt eſteemed, and therefore hired by the reſt of the Grecians to ſupply that defect amongſt themſelves. The cuſtom of paying ſoldiers was introduced here by PERICLES: before his adminiſtration every citizen ſerved at his own expence; now a foot ſoldier receives 3 oboli a day, and a horſeman a drachm; but upon particular occaſions this ſtipend is encreaſed.

Thou muſt have obſerved of the Grecian armies, that they are not formidable ſo much for their numbers or even courage, as individuals, as for the excellent diſcipline, which prevails among them, and that warm love of glory

† The Athenians were divided into three orders; the firſt were worth 500 medimns of liquid and dry commodities; the ſecond 300; the third 200: the reſt were allowed to vote, but not to bear offices in the ſtate. This was an inſtitution of SOLON. Note by the tranſlator.

and their country, which animates every man in the army from the higheſt officer to the meaneſt ſoldier. Their courage without the former would only expoſe them to danger; without the latter they would want the moſt powerful motive to diſtinguiſh themſelves. Their evolutions are contrived with deep penetration, founded on practice and a ſtudy of the military art, which is unknown to the rude undiſciplined multitudes of the Eaſt, who are dragged out of the villages to recruit our armies, and urged on by blows and ſcourges to the attack.

When the Grecians would break the adverſe battalions, they throw themſelves into the form of a wedge, which the enemy, if they underſtand their buſineſs, receive in a koilembolon, or pair of ſheers, which intercepts and breaks the force of the rhombus. When they would receive or give a regular onſet, they form in a body of 16 in flank, and 500 in front, preſenting on all ſides a firm impenetrable phalanx. When they ſhould enter defiles or ſtraits poſſeſſed by an enemy, they extend their files in the ſhape of a worm, from whence the figure receives its name: in ſhort no one incident can happen in a day of battle, for which they have not invented a proper motion; unlike the armies of Perſia, potent Lord, thou well knoweſt, who ruſh on tumultuouſly with hideous cries, and place their whole dependance upon the fury of the firſt attack. If that fails them, their courage abates, their ranks grow diſordered, the officers are unable to give orders in the confuſion that enſues; and if the enemy give one briſk puſh, they betake themſelves to a ſhameful flight.

The ſcience of attacking and defending towns is much improved in this country ſince the invaſion of XERXES, when the Spartans, after the defeat of MARDONIUS, could not force a body of Perſians, who had taken refuge in ſome

wooden fortifications, till the Athenians marched to their aſſiſtance. The long duration of the ſiege of Platæa has contributed towards a variety of new works and machines, that are daily brought into practice; whereas before their uſual method was to draw up their army in the form of a tortoiſe, and give a general ſtorm, or elſe batter the walls with the ram, and then ſend a party to enter by the breach. I have hitherto confined myſelf to the diſcipline of the land armies; but as the chief pride and ſecurity of Athens conſiſts in the number and goodneſs of her ſhips, and the experience and ſkill of her ſeamen, thou mayſt expect from me ſome remarks on that part of her military force. In a former letter to * GOBRYAS I mentioned the claſſes of 1200 rich citizens choſen out of each tribe, upon whom the expences of all the naval preparations are laid. Theſe claſſes are divided into companies of ſixteen each, who unite to fit out a trireme; but there ſeems to be ſomething unjuſt in the law upon which this practice is founded. Every citizen, from the age of twenty-five to forty, is ranked in one of theſe companies; and whether he has a revenue of 200 talents, or of two, is obliged to contribute equally in equipping a ſingle ſhip. Now it ſeems highly unreaſonable, that the poſſeſſors of plentiful eſtates ſhould contribute no more than others towards the public expence; and that the citizens of ſmaller fortunes ſhould be burdened with as large an aſſeſſment, as the more opulent: and yet the law, as it ſtands at preſent, is liable to theſe objections, and I think it would be very meritorious in any of their ‡ orators, to propoſe a new regulation. The Athenians man their gallies, according to their reſpective rates, with a due pro-

* Letter XXXIII.

‡ This was afterwards done by DEMOSTHENES. See the oration περὶ Στεφάνου, wherein both the laws are inſerted.

portion of ſoldiers and ſailors. The former are generally heavy-armed, for they endeavour to come to boarding as ſoon as poſſible, and by engaging hand to hand bring it as near as is practicable to a land fight. The ſailors are made up of mariners, who manage the ſails and tackling, and rowers; both compoſed of citizens, contrary to the practice in other countries, where the latter are always ſlaves. Amongſt the Athenians they divide them into three orders; thoſe in the uppermoſt benches are called Thranitai, thoſe in the middle Zeugitai, thoſe in the lower Thalamitai. The firſt have the largeſt pay, ſince by the diſtance of the water, and length of their oars, they undergo more fatigue and danger than the others. The officers on board a fleet, beſides the admiral and his lieutenants, are the Trierarchs or captains of ſhips, who have under them the maſter or pilot, the Keleuſtes or boatſwain, who directs and places the rowers, and the Logiſtes or purſer, beſides other ſubalterns.

Having thus ſubmitted to thy cenſure an imperfect eſſay on the Grecian tactics, permit me, illuſtrious miniſter, to impart my thoughts with boldneſs on a ſcheme, which has often occurred to me. Since our royal maſter has ſeen peace in his days, he has done a great deal towards healing the loſſes, and reſtoring the honour of the empire. But might he not put the finiſhing ſtroke to ſo glorious a work, by allowing penſions out of his treaſury to any able officers and engineers, who would travel over Greece, and ſtudy the art of war, which begins to arrive at a degree of perfection and refinement unknown to former ages? Some might in diſguiſe take plans of the principal cities, enquire into the ſtrength of each ſtate, ſurvey the ſituation of the country, and find out the proper places for encampments, ſurprize, or diſembarkation. Others ſhould enliſt in the

troops, which now conteſt the dominion of Greece, endeavour to gain the eſteem of the generals, and be preſent at and take a journal of every action. When they return home, the king might reward them proportionably to the diligence of their enquiries, and the importance of their remarks. They ſhould then be diſperſed over the provinces, to diſcipline the troops, and fortify thoſe cities and paſſes, which are eſteemed the keys of the empire. I know it is ſufficient to mention this project to thee, potent Satrap; nor need I enlarge upon the encreaſe of real ſtrength to Perſia, of reputation to her arms, of glory to our preſent monarch, and of luſtre to the miniſtry of MEGABYZUS, which would be the infallible conſequences of it. Farewel.

P.

LETTER LXI.

SMERDIS to CLEANDER.

THE more I conſider human nature, the more I find it unable to bear the agitations of love, grief, or indignation in ſilence, or under the cover of tranquillity and chearfulneſs. In ſuch circumſtances the affections will force their way; we muſt vent our groans to the rocks, and pour out our complaints to the ſenſeleſs and inanimate part of the creation, if we are afraid to entruſt them with the rational and thoſe of our own ſpecies. Men of narrow minds, who have wanted generoſity enough to gain a friend, or of fickle minds, who have wanted ſedateneſs enough to fix one, muſt frequently have recourſe to ſoliloquies in retirement, when toſſed to and fro by the hurricane of paſſion. But for my own part, I thank the gracious OROMASDES, that he has given me a warmth of temper, as well as ſtrength of underſtanding, ſufficient to make me zealous in cultivating a ſtrict correſpondence with the wife and faithful CLEANDER, in whoſe boſom I may depoſit every undiſguiſed thought and diſquieting apprehenſion. Let me open myſelf to thee without reſerve on the ſtate of the Bactrian ſchools, and the indolence of our order. It will not ſurprize thee, that I blame their faults; for thou art too well acquainted with my integrity, to imagine me capable of approving thoſe corruptions, which the ſanguine would pronounce it my duty to palliate, and the cautious would think it my intereſt to maintain.

Our mighty prophet ZOROASTER received numberleſs favours from the great DARIUS, in whoſe memorable reign he appeared. The erudition and ſanctity of the order, which he reformed, occaſioned the bountiful encouragements and large revenues, which were beſtowed on us by the monarchs who ſucceeded him. They thought our attention to rectify the religious notions, and improve the reaſons of our followers, qualified us to inſtruct the youth of the empire in philoſophical ſpeculations: they thought the recluſeneſs of our condition and the purity of our lives enabled us to curb their appetites, and refine their practice. In our hands therefore the heirs of noble families and the hopes of the kingdom were placed.

By this means they conceived, that, notwithſtanding the alterations in our government and manners, the loſs of the ancient ſchools would be repaired, ſimplicity preſerved in thoſe who are ſurrounded with ſuperfluities, and continence amidſt every incitement to tranſgreſs. I need not enlarge on theſe miſtakes, which are obvious, and, however abſurd in themſelves, are too ſerious in their conſequences to be ridiculed.

Alas! the ignorance of the world, which we are generally brought up in, and which has prepoſterouſly raiſed our reputation both as obſervers and teachers of morality, introduces more faults amongſt us than it ſaves us from; and inſtead of ſubduing or extinguiſhing the paſſions, it only cuts out another channel for them. Though our deſire of reputation be checked, and our vanity conſtrained to act in a narrow ſphere, we give a looſe to pride, and look down on the uſeful part of ſociety with an inſolent ſcorn. Though we have few opportunities of ſhewing our obſtinacy in action, yet we are ſtrangely tenacious of opinions; and though we are clear of thoſe vices, which ariſe from promiſcuous con-

verſation, we fall into the low habits, that attend a want of it.——Believe me, my Epheſian friend, there is no error, which carries leſs the appearance of truth, at the ſame time that there is none more deſtructive of magnanimity, than this, that "not to have met with temptation, is to have acquired "virtue." But if it was the intention of providence, that virtue ſhould be the effect of good ſenſe and experience united it is then incumbent upon us, who are to educate a nation, to have known the world, and ſtruggled with its inſinuating allurements. What though we be guilty of miſtakes at firſt ſetting out, neither ourſelves nor our neighbours ſhould deſpair of us; we muſt purſue our journey, take care to be informed better of the right track; and after having followed it, our advice to the young adventurers in life will be received with more reverence, when it proceeds from a ſobriety not natural and phlegmatic, but painfully and dangerouſly acquired. Such men would be far advanced in the way to perfection; for though to learn wiſdom from the ſufferings of others be the higheſt point of it, yet it requires no ſmall ſhare of underſtanding to take warning, and to give it, in conſequence of our own. Such men might be ſaid in truth to have the government of their paſſions, might be eſteemed maſters in the art of education; and having tried what the world is, would be fit inſtructors for thoſe who are to live in it. It were to be wiſhed therefore, that while ſome of us are employed in contemplating and explaining the divine volume of ZERDUSHT, others ſhould be employed in the public ſervice, in travelling abroad, and enriching themſelves with the fruits of their enquiries into men and things; and that all of us, at a certain age, in recompence for the ſupport we had received from the colleges of Balch, ſhould be recalled, and obliged to ſpend the reſt of our days in forming the youth of Perſia. We might then hope to ſee the inſtitution of this place much amended. Inſtead of teaching chicanery, evaſion, and poſitiveneſs in our ſchools, the ſound

principles of policy and juſtice would be ſet forth: inſtead of a ſcrupulous attachment to forms enforced by the terror of an unmanly diſcipline, we ſhould behold a general regard to good breeding, candour, and philoſophy ariſing from an inward regulation of temper and a well-turned mind. No man would enjoy the penſion deſigned for the diligent, who was not ſomehow or other intereſted in the great work; and it might be found poſſible, however it may ſeem otherwiſe at preſent, for the oldeſt and moſt venerable of our order to converſe with their diſciples, and not betray themſelves into the extreme of an unmeaning dignity, or a low familiarity. Thus conducted and improved in the opening of life, the youth would no longer laugh at our ſage counſels with the giddineſs of children, nor diſdain to obey our laws with the ſtubbornneſs of men; and the Magi themſelves would think they ill deſerved the emoluments they receive, or ill anſwered the end of their founder, if they were regular in no good thing but their oraiſons to the riſing or declining MITHRAS.

C.

LETTER LXII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS. From Athens.

THE fourth campaign of this war is opened with ſymptoms not very favourable to the Athenians. Early in the ſpring they received the unexpected news that SITALCES had ſworn to a ſeparate peace with Macedon, his troops had been repulſed at the attack of Europus, worſted in ſome ſkirmiſhes with PERDICCAS' cavalry, and began to want proviſions, and ſuffer from the inclemency of the weather. But what gave him moſt uneaſineſs was, the delay of the Athenian ſuccours, (for the republic was afraid of ſending their ſhips ſo far from home) and the intelligence he had, that the people of Theſſaly, alarmed at his ambitious views, were taking arms in the South, and ſome of his neighbours in Thrace, from the ſame motive, forming leagues againſt him in the North. Theſe at leaſt are the reaſons, and not unplauſible ones, by which he palliated his conduct to the Athenian ambaſſadors; but the truth of the matter is, as I privately learn, that the artful PERDICCAS had gained over SEUTHES, a near relation, and principal counſellor to SITALCES, with the promiſe of marrying him to STRATONICA his ſiſter, and giving her a vaſt portion, if he could bring about an accommodation. And ſuch (it ſeems) is the influence of this miniſter, that in eight days time he prevailed with his maſter to abandon the poor AMYNTAS, as well as his own claims, and return home. It is added, that the king of Macedon, reſolved not to diſappoint his benefactor, is

making preparations at Pella for the nuptials of STRATONICA and SEUTHES.

Three expreſſes have arrived here within theſe few days from the magiſtrates of Tenedos and the inhabitants of Methymna, which brought advice, that all the cities of Leſbos had entered into a confederacy to ſhake off their dependance upon Athens; that their magazines were furniſhed with corn, and their garriſons with archers from the Pontus Euxinus; and that the preparations for an open revolt were ſo far advanced, that unleſs the Athenians uſed the utmoſt vigour and diſpatch in quelling theſe commotions, the iſland would be loſt. Private intelligence is likewiſe come from ſome friends in Mitylene, the capital of Leſbos, that the leading men amongſt the revolters have determined to ſend deputies to Lacedemon, to deſire that they may be admitted into the Peloponneſian league. This news has ſenſibly touched the Athenians; the moſt penetrating amongſt them apprehend very bad conſequences from theſe Leſbian troubles. They look upon this revolt as giving the ſignal to the other tributary iſlands, to withdraw their ſupplies of ſhips and money, and either ſtand abſolutely neuter in the preſent diſſentions of Greece, or throw themſelves under the protection of Lacedemon or the Great King. They very well know, that their allies obey them more through fear than affection; that the abſolute authority, which for many years they have exerciſed over them, has produced diſcontents, which want nothing but a fit occaſion to break out into an open flame. They reaſon further, What can Athens do, when ſhe is left alone to ſtand her ground againſt ſo many potent enemies, who pretend to have no other cauſe for taking up arms, but to keep the balance even, and preſerve themſelves from the inſults and aſſuming ſpirit of the Athenians? Her treaſures muſt ſoon be exhauſted, when the chief ſources of

them (ariſing from the contributions of the allies) are either loſt to her, or turned againſt her. The inhabitants of a ſingle city can never ſuffice to man annual fleets, or recruit large armies, particularly when that city has been conſiderably weakened by by a cruel plague; much leſs will they be able to bear up againſt the loſſes and misfortunes, which are the ordinary attendants of war. What are we to expect from the other iſlands, when one, that has been the moſt favoured and diſtinguiſhed, is the firſt to riſe in arms againſt us? Theſe are the reflections I meet with in the porticos, where the Athenians meet to talk over the buſineſs of the day, and to enquire of each other what news is ſtirring. To add to their diſtractions the Peloponneſian army is encamped in the territories of Attica, and ſkirmiſhes often happen between their detachments and the garriſon of the city. However to preſerve that reſolution and addreſs, which they have hitherto ſhewn, they work day and night at the Piræeus to equip a fleet of forty gallies, the command of which is given to CLIPPIDES, who has already received ſecret inſtructions from the ſenate, the contents of which, as I am informed, are, that "he muſt ſail with the ſquadron under his command to the port of Mitylene, and endeavour to ſurprize the inhabitants at a feaſt, which they celebrate every year to APOLLO, without the walls of the city. If he finds that ſolemnity paſt, or the Mitylenians prepared for his reception, he is to demand of them to deliver up their ſhips, and demoliſh the fortifications, which they have lately raiſed. In caſe of refuſal, he is ordered to declare war againſt them, and to keep the port blocked up, till further reinforcement arrives from Athens." The ten gallies, which the Leſbians by virtue of their treaty with Athens are obliged to join to

their fleet now lying at Phalera, are ſeized, and the officers and mariners thrown into priſon.

I had written thus far, when accidentally hearing a noiſe in the ſtreet, I had the curioſity to enquire the occaſion of it, and was told, that a captain of a trireme ſtationed in the Piræeus had ſtopped a veſſel pretended to be bound for Epheſus, ſecured the packets found on board, and put the men under arreſt by order of the Polemarchus. Struck with the thought, that I had committed a parcel, addreſſed to my brother HIPPIAS, in which were encloſed diſpatches to thyſelf and ſome Perſian friends, to the care of the maſter of this veſſel, a thouſand doubts and apprehenſions crowded at once into my mind. Recollecting that I had no time to loſe, I run down to the Piræeus, and found the captain preparing to carry his packets to the Prytanes. As I had luckily ſome acquaintance with him, I took him aſide, and and told him, that he probably had a packet of mine in his hands, which contained mercantile buſineſs of great conſequence to my brother, which if expoſed to the eyes of the magiſtrates, with ſome of whom he had dealings in the way of trade, muſt be highly detrimental to his traffic here. I therefore deſired him to reſtore me that packet. He remonſtrated to me, that his orders were expreſs to bring all the papers he found in the veſſel. I aſſured him that upon demand of the magiſtrates it ſhould be produced. My earneſt intreaties, ſupported by the more weighty eloquence of a talent, which I put into his hand, prevailed with him at laſt to reſtore it to me. I went home, and upon the ſpot made up a parcel containing nothing but letters from me to HIPPIAS on our private concerns, which exactly reſembled the former in ſize and figure. I had ſcarce put in execution this neceſſary artifice, when an officer brought me a ſummons from the Prytanes to appear directly before them. I went with an honeſt confidence, and found

thoſe magiſtrates in deep conſultation. DYMAS the trierarch vouched, that the packet I delivered in to them was the ſame he had ſeized. The papers were looked into, ſome few general queſtions put to me, and after an hour's attendance I was diſmiſſed. The Epiſtata or preſident declared to me, that they were ſatisfied; that I had not been examined upon any particular ſuſpicion, but that nothing might be omitted in ſo diſtempered a time, which any way tended to ſecure the tranquillity of the ſtate. He gravely exhorted me to be diſcreet in my correſpondencies, and prudent in my behaviour. I am ſince informed by a friend among the Prytanes, that the ſhip was ſtopped, becauſe they had diſcovered, that inſtead of going for Epheſus, the maſter was bribed to change his courſe, and make for Leſbos. They have found advices from one AGNON, an hoſt of the Mitylenians, relating to the preparations going forward here. This AGNON is actually impriſoned, and will ſoon be put to death for his treaſonable practices.

Having thus happily eſcaped ſo unexpected a danger, I ſhall ſet forward in a few days for the Olympic games, which are to be celebrated this year with the uſual magnificence. The permiſſion, which thy laſt diſpatch brought me from our royal maſter, to ſurvey ſome parts of Greece, has invited me to undertake ſo agreeable a journey; and the large remittance, which I received lately from TERIBAZUS, enables me to perform it with convenience.

I proſtrate my head in the duſt, potent Satrap, for the favours heaped upon me. May the great OROMASDES continue to ſhed his healing influence upon the throne of CYRUS and the whole empire of Perſia, averting from both (as he hath lately done by diſcovering the perfidy of SACAS) the malign efforts of the accurſed ARIMANIUS. Farewell.

P.

LETTER LXIII.

SMERDIS to CLEANDER.

I complained * of a relaxation of diſcipline amongſt the Magi; and though not without reaſon, yet it would be injurious to impute it wholly to them: perhaps a general corruption may be too ſtrong for their beſt efforts to reſtrain. The children of the great are committed to their care much later than formerly; they bring with them an high opinion of their rank, a confidence in their paternal fortunes, and an eagerneſs for pleaſures, which they have had an early taſte of. They aſſociate only one with another, and ſeek partners in voluptuouſneſs rather than the advantages of wiſe converſation, which would be attended with reſtraint; for excellent inſtruction is ſtill to be had amongſt the Magi by thoſe, who want not induſtry and an ingenuous diſpoſition: witneſs the young ORSAMES, who owns himſelf indebted to our ſchools for thoſe qualities, which adorn him, and promiſe ſuch fruits to his country. But obſerve, CLEANDER, the prudent ſteps taken by the Satraps and the wealthy, who have entertained unfavourable opinions of a Perſian education; they ſend their children abroad, and take no further concern about their conduct than that it may not be ſeen by them. The young Perſian is ſet out with a ſplendid retinue; has his recommendations from SUSA, and wherever he goes, is received as a Satrap; he is honoured in our provinces, and gazed at in foreign ſtates; his mind is elevated above his rank, be it what it will, and his improvements ſeldom

* Letter LXI.

qualify him for any. He probably impairs his fortunes, and upon his return has a mind much raiſed above the thoughts of œconomy; or if he ſubmits to it, it is in a wrong place. The expences of equipage and voluptuouſneſs are become neceſſary and indiſpenſable: he therefore grows parſimonious to thoſe, who have juſt claims upon him; he oppreſſes his dependants, and ſparingly rewards the countryman, the guardian of his wealth. Nor is this to be wondered at; the young traveller ſets out with a mind not yet confirmed in any principles, and at an age ſtrongly biaſſed to pleaſure. He therefore moſt naturally falls in with the corruptions of every country both in principles and practice; for as he is diſpoſed to gratify his affections, he readily admits ſuch ſentiments as favour them. It is generally thought the buſineſs of a traveller, to ſelect for the benefit of his country what appears to him to make up the moſt perfect polity; and from his experience of men, to become himſelf an exemplary, wiſe, and good citizen. But our young traveller takes a pleaſure in reciting the imperfections he has obſerved in government, manners, and religion; he dwells much on the ſuperſtitions of Ægypt, the bigotry of the people, and the craft of the prieſts; and intimates, that he has much improved his ſagacity in regard to the worſhip of his own country. * He is juſt ſuch an obſerver in morals; for if he has made the tour of Greece, he aſſures you, that the rule of right and wrong, the ground of all juſtice, ſo much inſiſted on by our anceſtors, is not ſo indelibly imprinted by nature as has been imagined; that an ancient and flouriſhing ſtate has ſubſiſted without the cultivation of it; though probably he takes this upon hearſay, for our youth ſeldom come nearer to Sparta than a neighbouring * iſle much better ſuited to the delicacy of their lives. What can be the reaſon of this but that they think their practice juſtified by theſe great au-

* Cythera, the iſland of VENUS.

thorities? Why elſe do we hear little more of Athens, than its ſports and gayety? of Sardis, than its gaming? and of Babylon, than its obſcene hoſpitality? I aſſure thee, CLEANDER, I have known ſome of our youth, after a toilſome paſſage croſs Arabia and the ſea into upper Ægypt, upon hearing the feſtival rites at Cyprus were coming on, take a light veſſel, and with all the expedition of oars and ſail ſwim down the Nile, and content themſelves with ſo tranſitory a view of the great cities and monuments of that ancient kingdom. When they reached the ports of Cyprus, which extends its arms into the ſea, and incloſes vaſt fleets in its boſom, they ſpent little reflection on its ſtupendous moles and its conveniences for lading. They heard, that the temple of the Grecian goddeſs was open; that a choir of an hundred youths and as many beautiful virgins had already begun the ſolemn ode; they perfumed themſelves with rich oils, and crowned with garlands, haſtened to mix in the idolatrous rites, habited like ſhepherds of Arcadia; for all appear in diſguiſe on this occaſion, that they may not be under the reſtraint of ſhame, which ill becomes the votaries of ſo impure a deity.

Tender minds, CLEANDER, are ready for all impreſſions; therefore it is not proper they ſhould be withdrawn from wiſe and virtuous patterns, till they have gained an intimate acquaintance with virtue, and are able to combat the temptations of vice and folly. The ſoul is long in its infancy; the body comes much earlier to maturity: young men therefore (as the wives of the Magi are confined to the moſt beauteous objects of ſight, and hear nothing but harmony, that no ill impreſſion may deface their offspring, which is to be dedicated to the holy ſervice of the temple) ſhould be accuſtomed to no ideas, that may pollute the ſoul, the purity of which is an offering moſt delightful to OROMASDES.

It is at too great a hazard they go in queſt of what is worthy their imitation in Egypt or Greece; for that much may be found ſo by a prudent enquirer, I will not deny: wiſdom is not confined to one climate, it ſhoots out in ſome ſhape every where; at Athens it is wiſe policy, tender regard for the community, and every art, that is properly humane; at Lacedemon it is public liberty, maintained by auſtere diſcipline, and an ignorance of every enervating pleaſure; in Egypt it is piety to the gods, and a veneration for all things ſacred. It once appeared under all theſe denominations in Perſia; alas! that we can now find it only in our hiſtories!

Perhaps after all, CLEANDER, thou wilt ſay, what need all this precaution in favour of virtue? and why ſhould our youth be prejudiced in her behalf, who is repreſented ſo amiable as to ſtrike her beholders with admiration, and force our eſteem? It is becauſe virtue, though more amiable, is not ſo obvious; ſhe uſeth little art to recommend herſelf; like a chaſte virgin ſhe muſt be ſought after and ſued for: vice like a proſtitute always preſents herſelf, is officious, importunate, and enſnaring. ORSAMES is acquainted with this; he traverſes the diſtant regions of the earth, not to gratify the idle curioſity of ſight, or adorn the palace of his Perſian anceſtors with the arts of Greece, but to complete the furniture of his mind, to fit it for the abode of OROMASDES, who deigns to dwell with the good; in awe of whoſe preſence the wicked AHRIMAN will flie from us, as the ſhades of night diſperſe, at the approach of MITHRAS, to diſtant countries, and the deep caverns of the earth.

H.

LETTER LXIV.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES. From Athens.

THIS is the laſt letter, which I ſhall write to thee from Athens in ſome months. I ſet out to-morrow on an expedition to the Olympic games, and promiſe myſelf, that the magnificence and order, with which they are celebrated, the great confluence of Greeks, who repair from all parts to Olympia, the variety of countries and noble cities I ſhall paſs through in my road, and eſpecially the agreeable ſet of friends, who accompany me, will more than anſwer the ideas of pleaſure and improvement, which I propoſe to myſelf from the journey. Thou wilt, I believe, think, that I have made a very happy mixture of acquaintance, when I let thee into the characters of my fellow-travellers. My patron PHILEMON, as well upon account of his age as his merits, ſhould be mentioned firſt. This worthy Athenian ever ſince my reſiding here has treated me with particular regard: to him I am indebted for the friendſhip I have made with thoſe, who are moſt diſtinguiſhed in Athens for their virtues and abilities: to him I owe the little knowledge I have acquired of the conſtitution of the republic, and the manners of a people the moſt contradictory and various in their diſpoſitions of all others. PHILEMON has paſſed through the moſt conſiderable offices in the ſtate. He was, when very young, captain of a trireme at the battle of Salamis, and narrowly miſſed taking the famous queen ARTEMISIA, who eſcaped him by a very extraordinary ſtratagem. He has been ſince overſeer of the fortifications, archon, one of the 500, and is now a

member of the Areopagus. In all theſe employments an unblemiſhed integrity and an exact diſcharge of his duty have recommended him to his countrymen as one of their moſt deſerving citizens. He has frequently oppoſed the meaſures both of CIMON and PERICLES; but it was in ſuch a manner, that you ſaw though he condemned the faults, he ſpared the men; and that his oppoſition proceeded not from ambition or caprice, but an honeſt zeal for the public welfare. He is always well heard in the aſſemblies of the people, not from the art or eloquence of his orations, or a command of words, that rather overpowers than convinces the reaſon; but becauſe he ſpeaks to the purpoſe, and with an air and geſture, that ſhews he does not mean to impoſe upon his hearers, unleſs he is firſt deceived himſelf. Another quality, which diſtinguiſhes my friend, is a ſingular humanity. His door is open to every poor citizen, and his table prepared with a frugal hoſpitality to receive any ſtranger, who comes recommended either by his own deſerts, or the requeſt of a common friend. There is not a greater teſt of his benevolent temper, than that though he is an old man, he can encourage the mirth, and bear with the levities of the young; nor a ſtronger inſtance of his good breeding, than that he does not abound in the narrative faculty of years, but is rather forward to promote the converſation of others, than to aſſume an air of ſuperiority by obliging them to liſten to his. This is an imperfect ſketch of PHILEMON's character: I paſs next to that of my other companions.

CLINIAS is deſcended from one of the nobleſt families in Athens; and though both his rank and abilities intitle him to a conſiderable ſhare in the government of his country, he devotes himſelf almoſt wholly to the improvement of ſcience. He is an univerſal patron of arts; the philoſopher, the poet, the painter, the hiſtorian, and the ſculptor find alike the

effects of his liberality. He is not contented to be an admirer of learning, he is likewise an excellent judge of it. I have seen him hold an argument with the sophist GORGIAS, and heard him dispute the doctrine of the soul's preexistence with SOCRATES. ZEUXIS submits his most finished picture to his censure, and PHIDIAS would alter the drapery or attitude of a statue upon his advice. His table is frequented by all the learned in Athens; he abounds himself in the most elegant discourse, and has a peculiar art of setting the talents of others in the best light, and throwing something in their way, that may give them an opportunity to distinguish themselves. The two affairs, in which he most interested himself, were the accusation brought against PHIDIAS for defrauding the public in the gold employed about the statue of MINERVA, and the charge against ANAXAGORAS for impiety: but neither his interest nor his eloquence, though supported by PERICLES, could save the artist from prison, or the philosopher from banishment.

PHILOCLES is a young man, who gives early marks of being a good officer. He has been employed in the service in Thrace, and behaved with so much gallantry at the siege of Potidæa, that the generals sent him to Athens with the news of its being taken. He served last summer in PHORMIO's fleet, and was recommended by him to the people to be made a trierarch in the squadron, which is ready to sail to Lesbos: but CLEON had interest enough to disappoint him for the sake of one BATTYLUS, a buffoon and a Lutanist. PHILOCLES however is not discouraged from pursuing a military life, but hopes for better success at the next equipment. In the mean time he designs to put in for the prize of the chariot-course at the Olympic games.

To compleat our party, we have CHLORUS of the tribe of Pandion, a young man of wit and politeness, but of a

character ſomething ſingular: though he has a fund of good ſenſe, he has one weakneſs of affecting a general acquaintance amongſt the rich and the powerful. You generally ſee him at ſome great man's elbow at the theatre, and he is very buſy in laying the cuſhion for him. He boaſts to this day of a letter he received from PERICLES, to thank him for a preſent of olives, and was extremely ſurprized at not hearing from his good friend PHORMIO all the laſt campaign. He is well ſkilled in the genealogy of the Athenian families, and has promiſed we ſhall be ſupply'd with the beſt intelligence from Athens during our abſence.

I pleaſe myſelf with reflecting on the different views, which my companions and myſelf propoſe from this journey. The humane PHILEMON is willing to be preſent at a ceremony, which he thinks tends to inculcate a reſpect for the Gods, and to remind the different people, which inhabit Greece, of the ties, which ought to unite thoſe, who enjoy one common name, country, and religion. CLINIAS is pleaſed with the thoughts of extending his acquaintance amongſt the learned and ingenious. PHILOCLES flatters himſelf with ſucceſs in a conteſt, that gives a luſtre to the victor's name for his whole life. CHLORUS would be known to every one, who diſplays a ſplendid equipage at Olympia. For my own part, all that I aim at is, to approve myſelf a faithful ſervant to ARTAXERXES, and no uſeleſs miniſter to Perſia.

Adieu. P.

LETTER LXV.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER. From Heliopolis.

AS the prieſts of Ægypt are the moſt conſiderable part of the body politic, and hold the chief rank and preheminence among the people, thou wilt be curious to know, what are the different orders, into which they are diſtinguiſhed. And as theſe ſeveral orders are more ſtrictly kept up according to the ancient eſtabliſhment in the college of Heliopolis than in other places, I will endeavour to ſatisfy thy curioſity. * To diſtinguiſh them according to the different ranks they appear in upon public proceſſions and ſolemnities, I may mention firſt, after the inferior degrees, the chief of the muſic-band, who always carries ſome muſical inſtrument, as an enſign of his office; and in his cuſtody are two of the books of HERMES, one containing hymns in honour of the gods, the other rules and precepts for the conduct of their kings. Next after this officer is the diviner, who carries an horoſcope and a palm-branch, the ſymbols of aſtrology; and he is required to be thoroughly learned in four of the books of HERMES, that treat of that ſcience; one of the order and arrangement of the fixt ſtars; a ſecond of the phaſes of the moon and her conjunctions with the ſun; the other two of the phænomena of their riſing. After him comes next in order the ſacred ſcribe. He wears wings faſtened to his mitra, and carries a book with a rule, in which is ink, and a reed to write with. His province lies in the hieroglyphical knowledge, and he muſt be ſkilled

* CLEMENS ALEXANDR. Stromat. Lib. VI.

in thoſe books, that treat of the doctrine of the globe, geography, the courſes of the ſun and moon and of the five planets; he muſt know accurately the poſition of the ſeveral parts of Ægypt, the nature of the Nile, the lands and diſtricts appropriated to the prieſts, the exact meaſure and dimenſions of them, with the uſes and ſymbolical applications of all the ſacred inſtruments. I may reckon next after him the maſter of the ſacred wardrobe, who carries the rod of juſtice before the prophet, and a cup for libations. He is thoroughly verſed in all the inſtitutes of the Ægyptian diſcipline, and all the rites of ſacrifice; and there are ten kinds of ſervice performed in honour to the gods, under which the whole of the Egyptian religion may be comprehended: the chief are ſacrifices, offerings of firſt-fruits, hymns, prayers, proceſſions, and public feſtivals. Laſt goes the prophet, followed by thoſe, who carry the bread of *diſtribution*, and he is the head and ſupreme over all. To him it belongs to interpret the laws of HERMES; and he not only preſides in all matters of religion, but according to the ancient conſtitution holds a ſupreme judicature in all cauſes without any further appeal, as † chief of that high tribunal of ‡ thirty, which was compoſed of ten from each of the three principal cities, Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis. And though his power be limited, ſince Ægypt became ſubject to Perſia, yet his deciſions are ſtill held infallible among the Ægyptians; § as a token of which he wears a ſaphire, with the image or emblem of truth hung by a golden chain about his neck. * The prieſts in general are habited in linnen from a conceit, that woollen garments would defile them. But the ‖ prophet likewiſe hath his

† ÆLIAN Var. hiſtor. L. XIV. c. 34.
‡ DIOD. SICUL. L. I.
§ ÆLIAN, ibid. DIOD. SIC. ibid.
* HEROD. L. II. c. 37.
‖ APUL. METAM. L. II.

head ſhaven, and wears on his feet ſlippers of the bark of the palm-tree, and carries at his breaſt a water-jar, wrapt in the folds of his garment. The prophet is charged with the diſtribution of their revenues. To him belong the ten ſacerdotal books. In thoſe books are contained the laws, the doctrines of their mythology, and whatever relates to the diſcipline of the prieſts. Theſe are the chief diſtinctions among the prieſts of Ægypt or profeſſors of the Hermaic doctrines. And there are upon the whole two-and-forty books of HERMES abſolutely neceſſary to the literati of Ægypt; thirty-ſix of which number, containing all the philoſophy, belonging to the forementioned orders; the remaining ſix, which are phyſical, to the Paſtophori, and they treat of the parts, and ſtructure of an human body, of diſeaſes, of inſtruments, of medicaments, about the eyes, and laſtly of women. To the forementioned orders may the whole prieſthood of Ægypt be referred in their different ranks and degrees. But the Paſtophori and Neocori or ſacred Ædiles are of a much inferior rank, and to be reckoned among the ſubminiſtrant orders, and ‡ the purifications required of them are much leſs tedious and painful. This then is that body of men ſo famous throughout all the world, upon whom the original conſtitution of their country did entirely depend. Nor have they only governed that ſtate in civil and religious matters, preſcribing rules to princes, and exerciſing an abſolute juriſdiction over the actions, and, I had almoſt ſaid, opinions of their own people; but have ſpread their influence abroad, and been in league with the law-givers of every later ſtate. The grand policy of their religious initiations may be thought to have greatly promoted their deſigns, by means of which they could preſerve a

‡ CHAEREMON apud PORPHYR. de abſtinent. L. IV. §. 8. Τὸ μὲν κατ' ἀλήθειαν φιλοσόφων ἔν τε τοῖς προφήταις ἦν καὶ Ἱεροσολίσταις, &c. Τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τῶν Ἱερέων τε καὶ Παστοφόρων καὶ Νεωκόρων πολῦθρ. καὶ ὑπηρετῶν τοῖς θεοῖς καθιερεύει μὲν ὁμοίως, ὅτι γε μὴν μετ' ἀκριβείας καὶ ἐγκρατείας τοσαύτης δὲ.

correſpondence in diſtant countries, and be informed of whatever was for their purpoſe to know of the ſecrets, not only of ſtates, but of private perſons; thereby the more effectually to deceive and ſurprize thoſe, who reſorted to them. And though they are leſs conſiderable now than they were formerly, yet they will ſtill keep up the ſame diſguiſe and artifice of a myſterious ſecrecy. There is no ſet of men ſeem more to affect a recluſe and contemplative life, or to live more abſtracted from all ſecular cares and concernments. They affect a ſingular preciſeneſs in all their actions, a ſlowneſs in their ſteps and motions, § much gravity in their mein and habits, with a ſettled countenance, that ſeldom or ever is changed by ſmiles. The night they dedicate to the obſervation of the heavenly bodies, or to certain ceremonies of purification, which they perform at ſtated hours; the day to the worſhip of their gods, whom they celebrate both at the ſun-riſing, and at noon, and in the afternoon, and at the cloſe of the evening. The moſt general ſtudy, that employs them at other times, is arithmetic and geometry, in which ſciences they are always labouring to make further diſcoveries, and inveſtigate new truths. And to them it muſt be confeſt the greateſt improvements in thoſe ſciences have been owing. Neither is there any art, of which they don't arrogate to themſelves the firſt invention. For the moſt celebrated philoſophers, poets, and law-givers of other nations are mentioned in the ſacred regiſters of this college, as having reſided ſome time among them, and ſubmitted to the diſcipline of their order. Of the moſt eminent they have taken care to preſerve a ſtatue or picture, performed in the taſte of the age, wherein each illuſtrious perſon flouriſhed. They have ſeveral uncouth figures with the names of ORPHEUS, MUSEUS and

S

§ CHAEREMON apud PORPHYR. L. IV. §. 6.

MELAMPUS engraven on the ſtone, and a DÆDALUS in the manner of his ſtatues, ſaid to be his own work. Among the reſt is the Spartan LYCURGUS, and the Athenian SOLON, PYTHAGORAS of Samos, and the immortal HOMER, who in his deſcription of the infernal regions, which fable ORPHEUS introduced into the religious doctrines and myſteries of Greece, plainly alludes to this place and the adjoining territories.

I ſhould obſerve, that the prieſts truſt not their own memory to written regiſters any more than that of other famous men. * At Thebes I was ſhewn a ſingle pedigree, which entirely filled a large temple, deduced from father to ſon through more than 300 generations, and every ſucceſſion in it repreſented by a coloſs of wood dreſſed in the habit of the time, when each Piromi, as they called them, or worthy, lived. To this pedigree not a few of the preſent race lay claim, and I think it is carried up to the ſons of the Dioſcuri. For as they boaſt that their mythology with all their learning was received from the firſt Thoth, or MERCURY, they likewiſe celebrate with a particular reverence the memory of an ancient order, called the Cabiri, who were his counſellors and ſecretaries, and aſſiſted in eſtabliſhing that mythology, and the myſteries of a falſe religion, which from Ægypt and Phœnicia were propagated into Greece by them or their immediate deſcendants. They were eight brethren, ſons of SYDYC a contemporary of CHRONUS, of whom IOSORTHRUS or ÆSCULAPIUS was one, and they were the ſame with the Corybantes and the Dioſcuri of the Greeks: and their worſhip with certain myſteries was very early eſtabliſhed in Samothrace, Imbrus, and other iſles of the Ægæan ſea. † The Cabiri had a temple at Memphis, which was inacceſſible to any except the prieſts. But

* HEROD. Euterp. 143.
† HEROD. L. III. c. 37.

CAMBYSES, when he ravaged the other temples of Ægypt, entered into this, and ſcoffing at their images, which were deformed like that of VULCAN, ſet fire to it. MERCURY was the firſt author of a celeſtial ſyſtem of the world, and by him and the Cabiri the hero gods began firſt to be conſecrated into ſidereal divinities, and the prieſts ſcruple not to declare, *that they had the bodies of thoſe gods embalmed and depoſited among them, and that they worſhipped the relics of their bodies here on earth, while their ſouls ſhone as ſtars in heaven. Thus OSIRIS firſt was worſhipped as the ſun, though his relics were conſecrated in the myſteries of ISIS, and his tomb ſhewn at Nyſa in Arabia. And though he be acknowledged as a divinity in his own name, yet the prieſts intimate, that he ſtill receives divine honours in the worſhip of that luminary, to which the famous temple of HELIOPOLIS is dedicated. † And indeed the name OSIRIS ſignifies in their language a thing with many eyes, with alluſion to the ſun, that darts its rays into every corner, and as it were ſurveys the whole earth. In the temple there is a throne of opal, which dazzles with an inexpreſſible brightneſs, when the rays ſtrike upon it. ‡ But there is no ſtatue for the ſun; and the prieſts ſay, they make no image for the ſun and moon in their temples, becauſe every man ſees them daily in the heavens. ‖ Yet in the proceſſion, that is made for conſulting the oracle of that god, a jointed ſtatue of him is carried, which gives its anſwers by motions. In this ceremony the prieſts are attended by the principal perſons of the country. They ſhave their heads, and obſerve a long continence before it begins. § The pillars throughout the temple are of the Pyrite ſtone,

* PLUTARCH. de ISID. & OSIRIDE.

† DIOD. SIC. L. I. c. 1.

‡ LUCIAN de Deâ Syriâ.

‖ MACROB. SATURN. L. I. c. 23.

§ KIRCHER Obeliſc. Pamphil. L. I. c. 5.

the roof of gold and ivory, but diverſified with inimitable art. * The doors are of ſilver; round the ſides are figured the twelve ſigns of the year under the emblems of Ægyptian deities. Within the precincts of this famous temple is a ſtupendous obeliſk dedicated to the ſun by RAMESSES, one of their ancient kings, or rather intended for a monument to perpetuate his own honour. The height of it is ninety-nine feet, and each of the ſides four cubits. Every ſide is divided into three rows with hieroglyphical figures and inſcriptions. RAMESSES is intitled upon it, *Lord of the world, guardian of Egypt*, and *conqueror of foreign nations*, with many other glorious characters, that ſet him forth as a perſon highly favoured by the gods, and nearly related to them as it was cuſtomary from the earlieſt times to flatter their kings with a divine original. CAMBYSES, when he attacked this city, and had ſet fire to the buildings, before it reached the obeliſk, out of a particular veneration for that magnificent pile, ordered the flames to be extinguiſhed. Adieu.

L.

* OVID. Metam. deſcript. regiæ ſolis.

LETTER LXVI.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES. From Megara.

AS I imagine thy curioſity will be excited to know the particulars of our Olympic expedition, I ſhall write a regular account of what occurs moſt remarkable during the courſe of it; and I deſire thou wilt communicate a copy of this letter to the chief ſcribe.

In the morning before we began our journey, PHILEMON, who ſtrictly adheres not only to the eſſentials of religion, but to every point of decency, which an exact obſervance of the ceremonial part requires, invited us to partake in a ſacrifice to MERCURY and HECATE, the gods protectors of travellers, at his houſe. When that was finiſhed, we ſet out, and leaving the city at the weſtern gate, ſoon ſtruck into the road, which leads to Eleuſis. The country about Athens wears at preſent a very diſagreeable aſpect from the frequent incurſions of the Peloponneſian army. The Demoi or villages, the habitations of the tribes before they were united by THESEUS, are moſt of them in ruins; the lands lie uncultivated, and the labourers are diſperſed. PHILEMON, as we paſſed along, frequently deplored in tears the calamities of war, and ſometimes pointed out to us with a pious regard a grove or fountain ſacred to ſome local deity, or the ſepulchre of an old hero, that invites travellers to ſtop, and pay a ſhort veneration. The traditions of the country relating to theſe ancient monuments, though they are intereſting to a Grecian, whom they remind of ſome religious inſtitution, or remarkable fact in his own hiſtory, would afford

but little entertainment to the ear of a ſtranger: and therefore I ſhall only mention ſuch as are particularly remarkable. On one ſide of the way is a tomb erected to the herald ANTHEMOCRITUS, killed (as the Athenians affirm) by the Megareans, to whom he was ſent on an embaſſy juſt before the breaking out of this war. A little further you meet with an altar to ZEPHYRUS, and a ruſtic temple to CERES, in memory of her wandrings in ſearch of PROSERPINE. On the other ſide of the river Cephiſſus you may obſerve an altar to JUPITER *the placable*, where THESEUS is ſaid to have expiated himſelf after the murder of the robber SINIS his relation. Eleuſis is a ſmall town, celebrated for the myſteries performed there to the honor of CERES and PROSERPINE. As it is lawful for none but the initiated to enter into the temple and myſtic cell, which they tell you is capable of holding as many people as a theatre, I can give no account of the inſide. The front is ſumptuous, and adorned with a large portico of Doric pillars. The country people ſhewed us here the threſhing-floor of TRIPTOLEMUS the ſon of CERES, and a field where the firſt crop ever ſown in Greece ſprung up. In memory of ſo ſignal an event, ſome barley out of this very field is made into cakes, and uſed in the myſterious ſacrifices. The town itſelf receives its name from ELEUSIS, the ſon of MERCURY and a ſea nymph, and came into the Athenian poſſeſſion in the reign of ERECTHEUS, upon condition, that the family of EUMOLPUS, then prieſt of CERES, ſhould enjoy the privilege for ever of preſiding at the myſteries. After leaving ELEUSIS we ſoon entered the territories of Megara, which formerly belonged to the Athenians, but in the time of CODRUS the Peloponneſians expelled them, and peopled Megara with a Corinthian colony. As one of the pretended cauſes of the war is the ſevere decree made at the motion of PERICLES againſt the Megareans, which the Lacedemonians demanded to have repealed, the people of this place are extreamly incenſed

againſt the Athenians, who in return have added a clauſe to their general's oath, that they ſhall annually invade Megara. Notwithſtanding this enmity between the two republics is carried to ſo vaſt a height, we find a very hoſpitable reception at the houſe of a friend of CLINIAS, and have ſpent two days in ſurveying the temples, and other public ſtructures of the place. The city ſtands on a hill, the ſtreets are ſpacious, and adorned with ſome buildings of note. Not far from the gate, where we entered, is a temple dedicated to DIANA SOSPITA, or the Saviour, on a pretty extraordinary occaſion. Whilſt MARDONIUS lay encamped at Thebes, a party of his troops, that had waſted the country round Megara, being upon their retreat, loſt their way in the dark; and either confounded by their fears, or, as the inhabitants report, miſled by a deluſion from the goddeſs, imagined, that they ſaw a band of enemies drawn up againſt them. Under this miſtake they diſcharge their javelins at the neighbouring rocks, which returned a ſound like the groans of dying men. They continued this fanciful fight till day-break. When they had waſted their weapons, a real one enſued; for in this unarmed condition they were attacked, and eaſily routed by the Megareans. Hard by is a grove and temple ſacred to JUPITER. The ſtatue of that god, begun by THEOCOSIMUS of Megara, aſſiſted by PHIDIAS, is left unfiniſhed, becauſe the public revenues and the eſtates of private perſons are ſo exhauſted by the continuance of the war, that they are not able to ſupport the expence of it. The citadel, which takes in a large ſpace of ground, contains ſeveral public buildings; as the monument of ALCMENA the mother of HERCULES, that of HIPPOLITA the Amazon, and of TEREUS the huſband of PROGNE. Here ſtand likewiſe the Prytaneum and a temple of APOLLO. In the forum is the tomb of CHOROEBUS an ancient hero, who killed a dreadful monſter called the Pœna, that was ſent by APOLLO to ravage Argolis. The ſtory is told in verſe upon the monu-

ment, and the bas-relief repreſenting the fight between CHOROEBUS and the Pœna is eſteemed the moſt ancient piece of ſculpture in Greece. I have been down at Niſæa, their port and arſenal; it ſtands lower than the town, and is well furniſhed with naval ſtores. A trireme is juſt come in with advice, that the Athenian fleet is ſailed with a fair wind for Leſbos. We ſhall ſtay here a day more, and then proceed for Corinth, which is our next ſtage: from thence I ſhall write to the chief ſcribe, as the cuſtoms and antiquities of that city will afford ample materials for the obſervation of inquiſitive travellers.

I cannot give thee a better idea of the humanity and politeneſs, for which the Grecians are ſo famous, than by concluding with an account of the manner, in which ſtrangers of any diſtinction are received in the towns, through which they paſs. The perſon, who entertains, meets his company at the door of his houſe, and conducts them into the hall, where he preſents them with bread, wine, and ſalt, which is conſidered as a ſacrifice or libation to JUPITER XENIOS, or the Hoſpitable. Then they refreſh themſelves after the fatigues of the journey by bathing, which is followed by ſupper, accompanied with muſic, or the enlivening poetry of ſome wandring *Aoidos* or bard. It is cuſtomary at parting for the hoſt and his gueſts to interchange ſome little preſents, to divide a piece of money or ivory, as a pledge of eternal friendſhip. So inviolable are the rights of hoſpitality preſerved, that war itſelf does not deſtroy them. The Greeks, potent ſatrap, cannot be ſufficiently commended for paying this ſtrict regard to thoſe common ties, that diſtinguiſh mankind from the brutes, which are agreeable to the practice of the remoteſt ages, as well as the condition of our nature. Adieu.

P.

LETTER LXVII.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES. From Corinth.

WE have ſome days been arrived at Corinth, which is eſteemed one of the richeſt, largeſt, and moſt beautiful cities in Greece. It's ſituation, thou muſt have heard, is very extraordinary. It ſtands upon a neck of land about five miles over, which joins Peloponneſus to the reſt of Greece. This iſthmus lies between the two bays, the Criſſæan and the Saronic, the one formed by the Ionian, the other by the ÆGEAN ſea. Upon each of theſe bays the Corinthians have an harbour, one called Lechæum, and the other Cenchreæ. The latter is the moſt conſiderable. Here ſtands likewiſe a temple to NEPTUNE, where the ſtatues of the victors at the Iſthmian games are erected, a theatre, and a ſtadium. The approach to the town through a grove of cypreſs trees is very pleaſant. The buildings are moſt of them elegant and ſpacious, and, as well as the ſtatues and pictures, finiſhed by the beſt maſters; for this place amongſt other advantages is celebrated for producing eminent artiſts in architecture, painting, and ſculpture. By the favour of CHYLON, one of the magiſtrates, at whoſe houſe we are lodged, I have ſurveyed all the curioſities of Corinth, and ſhall give thee an account of the moſt remarkable. Several of their public edifices ſtand round the forum. In the middle is a ſtatue of MINERVA, with the muſes carved on the baſe of the pedeſtal. Next to this is an aqueduct adorned with a brazen NEPTUNE, at whoſe feet lies a dolphin, that ſpouts out water. On each ſide ariſe the ſuperb temples of VENUS,

FORTUNE, and one dedicated to all the gods. The fountain of Priene lies at the foot of the craggy mountain Acrocorinthus: it is ſo named from the nymph PRIENE, who lamented the death of her daughter, killed accidentally at the chaſe by DIANA, with ſuch torrents of tears, that ſhe was turned into a ſpring. The water is remarkable for the ſweetneſs of its taſte. The fountain is adorned with white marble, a ſtatue of APOLLO, and a bas-relief repreſenting the fight between ULYSSES and the ſuitors.

The citadel is built upon the top of Acrocorinthus, and is reckoned both by the natural ſituation of the place, and the advantages it has received from art, impregnable. From hence you have the fineſt proſpect imaginable of the Ionian and Ægean ſeas. Whilſt we were viewing the citadel, we ſaw three Corinthian gallies engaged with as many Athenian; the latter ſeemed to be ſuperior, till two more ſailing from Cenchrea to join their countrymen, they were obliged to bear away before the reinforcement came up. The baths at Corinth are magnificent, particularly thoſe of NEPTUNE; at the entrance are two ſtatues of the god leaning on an anchor, and DIANA in an hunting dreſs. The aqueducts and fountains are numerous, and give a coolneſs to the city in the greateſt heats of ſummer. One called the fountain of Lerna, is ſurrounded with rows of trees, and ſupported by marble columns, and there are ſeats round it, covered with tapeſtry. Its neighbourhood to the gymnaſium and muſic theatre render it the moſt frequented of any in the city. They boaſt here of ſeveral pieces of the ſculptor DÆDALUS, which though rough and unpoliſhed ſhew a fire and ſpirit, that ſupply the want of correctneſs.

The Corinthians are much inclined to eaſe and diverſion; the maſculine ſimplicity of Sparta is unknown to

them, neither do they cultivate learning like the Athenians. VENUS is the goddeſs, whom they adore moſt fervently; their ſtreets are crowded with her temples, and almoſt every day in the kalendar is marked out by ſome feſtival to her honour. The hoſpitality, which ſo particularly diſtinguiſhes the Greeks, prevails here in the ſame degree that it does every where elſe. Our quality of enemies does not hinder us from being received with the politeneſs of neighbours and friends; and thou mayſt imagine there are no ſmall numbers of Athenians, who take this place in their way to Olympia. I have found no difficulty in prevailing with my company to ſtay here ſome days longer. I propoſe by it to gain time for making a diſpatch to the chief ſcribe. My delay proceeds likewiſe from a more private motive: HIPPIAS ſends me word, that he will join our Olympic party from Epheſus in a few days. We ſhall afterwards proceed directly through Argolis, Achaia, and Elis to the games. I kiſs thy robe, noble ſatrap, and bid thee adieu, wiſhing thou mayſt find the ſame entertainment in my letters, that I receive from the circumſtances which occaſion them.

P.

LETTER LXVIII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS. From Corinth.

THE city, where I now am, potent lord, hath undergone ſeveral revolutions in its government. From a little obſcure town called Ephyra, it was raiſed into a kingdom by SISYPHUS, whoſe poſterity reigned over it near 200 years. They were diſpoſſeſſed by the Heraclidæ or deſcendants of HERCULES; and theſe in their turn gave way to the Bacchidæ, a noble Corinthian family, which took the adminiſtration of affairs into their hands, and elected an annual magiſtrate out of their own body, whom they called the Prytanis. During their government the Corinthians planted the two famous colonies of Syracuſe and Corcyra, which are both grown to ſuch a height of power and wealth, as to have no ſort of dependance on their mother city. Thou knoweſt, that the quarrels of the latter with Corinth, relating to Epidamnus, were the firſt ſparks that ſet Greece in a flame. CYPSELUS the ſon of LABDA of the race of the Bacchidæ, who for her deformity had been married out of it, fulfilled the Delphic oracle by diſſolving this ariſtocracy, and uſurping the throne. Through the mildneſs of his temper, and the popularity of his behaviour, he reigned quietly 30 years, and left the crown at his death to his ſon PERIANDER. The Corinthians ſtill retain the utmoſt abhorrence for the memory of this tyrant. His fear of the people made him always keep a ſtrong guard about his perſon, and take off the heads of the moſt eminent citizens. Nor was his cruelty confined to the public; it exerted itſelf equally in private life. He put his wife

MELISSA to death at the inſtigation of his concubines, and baniſhed his ſon LYCOPHRON to Corcyra for reſenting the ill treatment of his mother. PERIANDER afterwards ſent for him to ſettle the ſucceſſion upon him; but the Corcyreans, apprehenſive that the old tyrant would come and reign over them, prevented it by killing the young prince. This news ſo afflicted the father, that he died for grief at the age of fourſcore. The Corinthians took hold of ſo favourable an opportunity to reſume their liberties, and eſtabliſhed a government, which is a mixture of ariſtocracy and democracy. The ſenate is perpetual, and choſen out of a certain number of the moſt ancient families; but the aſſemblies of the people have a large ſhare of power.

The ſituation and naval force of Corinth render it one of the moſt conſiderable ſtates in Greece. By the former they command the Ionian and Ægean ſea, and poſſeſs the only paſs of communication between Peloponneſus and the continent; for which reaſon the citadel or Acrocorinthus is uſually called the Eye, and the city the Fetter of Greece. Had XERXES, after forcing the ſtraits of Thermopylæ, marched directly to the Iſthmus, before the united forces of Greece were aſſembled there, and the fortifications compleated, which were raiſed to defend the country, he muſt have made himſelf maſter of Corinth, and would then have had two fine harbours for his ſhips to lie in, and a ſecure retreat for his land army. Had he even loſt a battle, he might have waited here for reinforcements; nor would the lord of millions have been reduced to the neceſſity of croſſing the Helleſpont in a fiſher-boat. Suffer not, illuſtrious Satrap, the misfortunes of our anceſtors to diſcourage thoſe who ſucceed them; let them rather ſerve to improve their conduct. When Perſia would revenge the ſhame, which ſhe ſuffered at Salamis, this ſhould be her firſt enterprize; and to render the ſucceſs more aſſured, I ſend plans of the

citadel, and the entrance into the ports of Lechæum, and Cenchrea, which with great difficulty I have obtained. The Corinthian fleet is at preſent the moſt conſiderable in Greece next to the Athenian. They fitted out twenty-five gallies againſt XERXES, made an equipment of ſixty in the war with Corcyra, and engaged PHORMIO laſt year with ſeventy ſail.

I tranſmit to thee incloſed the intelligence, which our laſt letters brought from Athens, by which thou mayſt perceive the ſtate of affairs there ſince my departure; and when I write from Olympia, I ſhall uſe the ſame method. Farewel.

Extract of a Letter from Athens.

A trireme is arrived from CLIPPIDES with advice, that upon his arrival before Mitylene, he found the inhabitants appriſed of his expedition, and that they had deferred their annual ſolemnity; that they utterly refuſed to comply with his demands, and had even attempted to ſurprize ſome of his ſhips, which by ſtreſs of whether were ſeparated from the reſt, but were ſoon repulſed. As he apprehended he had not ſtrength to reduce the iſland, he had complied with their offer of making a ſuſpenſion of arms, and ſending over deputies to Athens.

Extract of another Letter.

The deputies of Leſbos are juſt upon their departure, without ſucceſs. We ſuſpect, that they only came to gain time, ſince we have certain information, that their embaſſadors are on their way to the general aſſembly of the

allies at Olympia. We are preparing a reinforcement of twenty gallies for CLIPPIDES, and hear that ten from Corcyra have joined him; ſo that the port of Mitylene is entirely blocked up.

P.

LETTER LXIX.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES. From Olympia.

AS I am willing to hope, that my correſpondence is not diſagreeable, I ſhall proceed to lay before thee ſome farther particulars of my Olympic expedition. The firſt town of note we arrived at, after leaving Corinth, was Sicyon, a large and flouriſhing city, formerly governed by kings, but now a republican ſtate. From thence we croſſed the river Aſopus, and proceeded through the delightful plains of Arcadia and the territory of Elis to Olympia. We have found ſufficient emyloyment ſince our arrival, in viewing the antiquities and curioſities of the place, particularly the temple of JUPITER OLYMPIUS, the grove called Altis, wherein it is built, and the plain of Pelops. The architect of this temple was LIBO the Elean. It is covered on the roof with marble cut in the form of tiles, and the ſhell of the ſtructure is white ſtone; on the top of the pediment, ſtands a Victory holding a golden buckler, engraven with Meduſa's head, a preſent of the Lacedemonians and Argives after the battle of Tanagra, to the Athenians. The pediment of the principal front is adorned with ſculpture, repreſenting the ſtory of PELOPS winning the daughter of OENOMAUS king of Elis, at the chariot courſe. It is ſaid to be the work of a native of Mendez, a city in Thrace. In the

pediment of the back front, is the battle of the Centaurs and the Lapithæ, executed by ALCAMENES, a celebrated Athenian ſculptor. Two brazen gates afford a ſpacious entrance into the body of the temple, and two ranges of columns ſupporting two galleries raiſed exceeding high lead up to the throne of JUPITER. The eyes of every ſpectator muſt be immediately ſtruck with the ſtatue of that deity at the upper end, which the nearer it is approached the more it excites admiration. This ſtatue is univerſally eſteemed the maſter-piece of PHIDIAS, who took his idea of it from a ſublime deſcription in HOMER of that god. The materials are gold and ivory. The image has on its head a crown of gold reſembling the branches of an olive tree. In his right hand he holds a Victory formed of gold and ivory; in his left a ſcepter exquiſitely poliſhed; inlaid with a variety of metals, and ſurmounted with an eagle. The mantle is gold, embroidered with various animals and flowers. There is a ſerene majeſty in the look, which at once creates love and veneration, and puts one in mind of HOMER's epithet for him, *The father of gods and men.* The throne is anſwerable to the magnificence of the deity who fills it. It is embelliſhed on all ſides with different ornaments. At the four corners of the throne are ſeen the graces and hours in a circling dance; at the bottom are two lions, one of which holds a ſhield in his paw; whereon is ſculptured the battle of THESEUS and the Amazons. Before all theſe is raiſed an encloſure breaſt-high, where the pencil of PANÆNUS has exerted itſelf in painting ſuch ſubjects, as may have a proper effect to animate thoſe ſpectators, who intend to enter the liſts. There is HERCULES relieving PROMETHEUS; the ſame hero ſupporting the globe in the room of ATLAS. The prieſt who accompanied us, told us, that PHIDIAS, after he had finiſhed the ſtatue, having begged of JUPITER to give him ſome token that his workmanſhip had not diſpleaſed him, immediately the pavement near him

was ſtruck with lightning, and in memory of the miracle a brazen urn was placed over the ſpot. I could not help looking at a row of pillars in the ſanctuary, which are hung round with tablets of treaties between the Grecian ſtates, depoſited as it were under the guardianſhip of JUPITER. But their reverence to the ſupreme deity is not ſo powerful an incitement to preſerve the articles of them inviolate, as their intereſt or reſentment is to induce them to infringe them. Our company was with difficulty drawn away from viewing theſe wonderful performances, which do ſo much honour to the Grecian maſters, to walk over the reſt of the temple, and particularly to ſurvey that noble collection of preſents and offerings, which are made either by victors at the games to ſhew their gratitude, or by princes and foreign ſtates to teſtify their veneration to the god. There are laid up in the ſacred treaſury vaſes emboſſed with gold, robes ſtiff with embroidery and gems, ſtatues and pictures, which not only dazzle, but fatigue the ſight. You ſee particularly a chariot and four brazen horſes, ſent by CYNISCA, daughter of ARCHIDAMUS king of Sparta, the firſt perſon of her ſex, who won the chariot-prize at Olympia.

When we had ſatisfied our curioſity within the temple, we were led out of a gate in the northern ſide into the Pelopion, or plain of Pelops, which is planted with rows of trees, interſperſed with innumerable altars and ſtatues of divinities and heroes. The Pelopion and Altis incloſe above ſixty of the former alone, conſecrated to the different deities of Greece. Near the gate ſtands an altar to Olympian JUPITER of a very ſingular ſtructure; for it is wholly built out of aſhes from the thighs of the ſacrificed victims. Several ſteps lead to the top; the firſt half are ſtone, the others are made of a cement of aſhes mixed with water

from the river Alpheus, which runs by Olympia round the walls of the Altis. And in the neighbourhood of it are erected the ſtatues of the moſt renowned amongſt thoſe, who have gained prizes at the games, with inſcriptions ſignifying the number of crowns they have won, and ſometimes that they were the firſt, who conquered at ſuch an exerciſe. Here is one of the famous MILO of Crotona, who after winning ſix prizes at Olympia and as many at Delphi, is come, though advanced in years, to put in his claim for the thirteenth victory. A little way out of the town near the mountain Cronius are monuments to the eternal infamy of ſuch, as either by fraud or corruption have obtained the prize; and the expences are defray'd out of the fines ſet upon them. An inſcription on the ſtatue of one EUPOLUS records, that he had bribed three of his competitors at wreſtling, and was the firſt, who had tainted the ſanctity of the games. It concludes with an admonition, that the Olympic palm was not to be acquired by money, but addreſs and vigour alone. I ſhall juſt mention the temple of JUNO, which ſtands north of the Pelopion, whoſe ſplendor and magnificence is far eclipſed by that of the thunderer. The ſtatues are many of them in the old taſte. The greateſt rarity is a coffer preſented by CYPSELUS tyrant of Corinth, which would take up a letter to deſcribe fully. The ſides are ornamented in the richeſt manner with painting and bas-reliefs, that include the moſt remarkable ſubjects in the fabulous hiſtory of Greece. In the way leading to the Prytaneum is a ſtatue of JUPITER erected at the joint coſt of the Grecian ſtates, that fought againſt MARDONIUS at Plateæ. The names of them, beginning with the Lacedemonians, followed by the Athenians and the reſt in order, are engraved on the baſis of the pedeſtal.

I can aſſure thee, potent lord, that nothing I have yet ſeen in Greece or Aſia equals in any degree the magnifi-

cence and elegance, that appear in the ſtructures here. One may ſay, that architecture, painting, and ſculpture have not only united their utmoſt efforts, but even exhauſted the ſecrets of their arts, to render Olympia worthy its tutelar deity, and the games exhibited to his honour. I have neither memory nor leiſure to relate the tenth part of the various entertainment, which this place affords me; and from what I have already ſaid, thou wilt not wonder that every fifth year renders it the univerſal reſort both of natives and foreigners. I cannot conclude more properly, than by laying before thee the beſt account I am able to collect upon the ſpot, of the origin and alterations, which have happened in theſe ancient and celebrated games. There are two ſtories equally prevalent in the country relating to their firſt inſtitution; the one aſcribes it to the Curetes, JUPITER's tutor's, the other to the god himſelf, after the defeat of the Titans. They ſuffered afterwards long interruptions, and were ſeverally renewed by HERCULES, and PELOPS, when he had won HIPPODAMIA the daughter of OENOMAUS at a chariot-race. This part of their hiſtory is fabulous and uncertain; but I think all agree, that they were eſtabliſhed on their preſent footing by IPHITUS, a deſcendant of OXYLUS king of Elis, about 408 years after the taking of Troy. It was at that period they took a regular form; then gymnaſiums and places of exerciſe were ſet up, and directors of the games or Hellanodicæ appointed. Thoſe officers are now nine in number, choſen by lot from amongſt the principal inhabitants of Elis, whoſe territory is declared ſacred, and thoſe accounted impious and ſacrilegious, who invade it. From enjoying theſe honours and immunities, Elis is become one of the beſt peopled ſtates in Greece. Every one, of what nation or quality ſoever, who intends to be a competitor in the games, is obliged to preſent himſelf before the magiſtrates in the Prytaneum, and take an

oath at the altar of JUPITER there, that he had for the ten preceding months performed a kind of novitiate in the exerciſes, which he propoſes to appear in at the games; and that he would ſtrictly adhere to the terms preſcribed for each exerciſe. Then a herald with a loud voice demands, if no one preſent can accuſe the candidate of any crime or miſdemeanor, which renders him unworthy to contend for the crown of olive. If no objections are made, the name of the perſon is enrolled in a public regiſter, and himſelf diſmiſſed till the day of trial. The wreſtlers are divided into two claſſes, that of children, and that of men; the former are admitted from the age of twelve to ſeventeen. Women are not allowed under pain of death to be preſent at any part of the ſolemnity.

As the games, which are always fixed for the full moon in Ekatombeon, will begin in a few days, thou mayſt expect, that this letter will ſoon be followed by another, containing a full account of the whole repreſentation. Farewel.

P.

LETTER LXX.

HYDASPES to CLEANDER.

I can no longer contain myſelf, CLEANDER, from returning my thanks for thoſe agreeable letters I have received from thee on thy journey to Olympia. I value thy friendſhip above all I have contracted, ſince it is ſo far from cooling in a foreign climate, that it grows warmer in abſence, and perpetually turns thee back to thy country and acquaintance, amidſt a variety of new objects to engage thy attention.

I imagine e'er this time thou art informed of SACAS's conſpiracy by the noble GOBRYAS, and the ſeveral ſteps which have been already taken in that affair. The queen-mother and the fair Damaſcan having found the king inexorable to their prayers in favour of the criminal, at laſt withdrew their interceſſion. Nothing then remained but to put the ſentence of the ſupreme council in execution: however it was firſt thought proper, that he ſhould be privately examined before MEGABYZUS and the chief ſcribe. Upon that occaſion, I am told, diſcoveries of importance were extorted from him by the rack; and that he has accuſed many of the ſatraps of Media, who were involved in the ſame guilt. This report is a good deal confirmed by the expreſs, who went lately into that province with orders from our potent monarch, that PANDATES, MINDUS, and OXYATHRES, three Median lords, ſhould repair to Babylon without delay. He brings word, that the latter is fled, and that his two accomplices, not ſuſpecting the danger,

are ſecured by a ſtrong guard. GOBRYAS is much buſied in watching the intrigues of thoſe, who are endeavouring to trace out from what quarter theſe horrid practices were laid open. A few days ſince the perfidious eunuch received the juſt reward of his treaſons, and was boated, according to the ſevere penalties inflicted on traitors by the law of Perſia. The hunting ſeat, that belonged to him in the foreſt of Niſa, and all his riches are confiſcated to the king's uſe, which are valued at more than an hundred thouſand darics. I have myſelf ſome deſign of applying for a grant of the former, as it will be a very convenient receſs for me, whenever a change in the miniſtry, the death of my royal maſter, or the infirmities of old age, oblige me to leave the toilſome attendance of a court-life.

PYRACMON the Lacedemonian agent is gone back to Sparta, without an audience of leave. For as he has never appeared regularly in the character of a public miniſter during his ſtay here, by reaſon of his obſtinate refuſal to comply with the ceremony of proſtration at his arrival, it was impoſſible for me to admit him into the king's preſence. At the ſame time that the ruling magiſtrates in Lacedemon have recalled PYRACMON, they have ſent us another in his room, whoſe name is NICANDER. From the judgment I have been able to form of him, he is as ſtrange a creature as his countryman, and is poſſeſſed of all the uncouthneſs and indelicacy, which ſeem inherent in every member of that military republic. As ſoon as he came within the walls of the palace, he deſired to be preſented to ARTAXERXES as a commiſſioner from Thebes, that he might avoid going through the forms of an audience in the quality of a Lacedemonian; and being aſked, if he had brought any powers from that ſtate to treat with the Great King, he replied, yes, but that his inſtructions were more conſiderable from

his native city. I was ordered by the miniſters of our ſublime court to tell him, that this was regarded as a trifling evaſion of the homage paid to our ſovereign by the miniſters of every ſtate; and that though he intended it to preſerve (as he proudly thought) the dignity of a Spartan, yet ſuch mean and ſhifting arts were much below the character of politeneſs, which the Greeks aſſumed to themſelves; and he muſt conſent to be received as an ambaſſador from Lacedemon, or not at all. The delivery of this meſſage had its due weight; and in a ſurly manner he ſubmitted. But I obſerved, when I conducted him into the royal chamber, agreeably to the uſual ceremony, he dropped a ring, which he wore upon his finger, and in ſtooping to recover it, made an aukward reverence to our monarch. I ſaw immediately, by the reſentment which ſparkled in the king's eyes, that this behaviour gave offence, and the conference was ſhort; but that wiſe counſellor MEGABYZUS has adviſed him to ſuffer reaſons of policy to ſuperſede the motions of anger.

To give thee a further inſight into the manners of the man, I muſt tell thee of a circumſtance, which will excite thy laughter; that in all his converſations with GOBRYAS he diſdains the offered civility of that courteous miniſter, by throwing his body on the floor of the apartment, where they meet together, inſtead of reſting himſelf upon the ſofa of ſtate. It was intimated to me one day, that it would be proper to invite NICANDER to an entertainment of dancing and muſic, which was ordered that evening in the magnificent hall of DARIUS. I took INTAPHERNES along with me, and we went about noon to wait upon NICANDER. We were introduced to him without any form, and found him dining alone very heartily on a meſs of the famous black broth, which I conjecture from the

coarſe appearance of it muſt be a deteſtable repaſt to any but a Lacedemonian ſtomach. The perſon, who attended him, was an Helot ſlave, whom he had brought along with him to Babylon, becauſe of his happy talent in preparing it. He received my invitation very coldly, and anſwered me with roughneſs, declaring, that he came upon a matter of buſineſs, not a party of pleaſure. We left him with a contempt for the narrowneſs of his temper, and a thorough perſuaſion of his incapacity to ſerve in foreign negotiations.

CRATIPPUS, the ſophiſt of Rhodes, who has been employed for ſome time in GOBRYAS's office, informed me yeſterday under the ſeal of ſecrecy, that he was going upon a private expedition to Sparta; and that he ſhould be very glad to maintain a correſpondence with one, whom he had ſo high an opinion of as yourſelf. He ſaid, although that city was at a conſiderable diſtance from Athens, yet, as he fancied you and he ſhould be almoſt the only well-wiſhers to the king of Perſia in the territories of Greece, he would certainly find a method of communicating his thoughts to you frequently and without reſerve. I congratulate thee, CLEANDER, on being joint-labourer with a perſon of CRATIPPUS's uncommon parts and learning. He is a man of ſuch dexterity and addreſs, that whether he converſes with the ſuperſtitious Ægyptians, or the effeminate Ionians, whether he conforms to the ſimplicity of the Perſians, or the ſplendor of the Medes, he is equally chearful and agreeable. In a word, he ſeems deſigned by nature for a citizen of the world; and I dare ſay, will be as much pleaſed with the water-creſſes and brown loaves of Sparta, as with all the rich wines and luxury of Aſia. Such a character as this, which I deſcribe to thee, can only be the reſult of good ſenſe and a ſuperior underſtanding.

I hope thou and I, my friend, ſhall never know, what it is to be like the deſpicable NICANDER, but rather imitate the rational turn of CRATIPPUS. The manners of various nations are generally as different as their political intereſts; and it argues a littleneſs of mind, to think the peculiarities of one's own country are drawn out of the depths of wiſdom, while the cuſtoms of another deſerve to be branded with folly. Thou wilt ſmile perhaps at a courtier, who concludes with the ſpirit of a philoſopher; but I leave it to thy determination, whether a low partiality to the manners of thoſe, who inhabit one ſpot upon the globe, in oppoſition to the reſt of the world, is not a kind of immorality, as well as a ſubject of ridicule.

From Babylon. C.

LETTER LXXI.

SMERDIS to CLEANDER.

I do not know, whether I am more pleaſed or aſhamed at the letters I receive from thee. I ought not to want a ſpur to ſuch an unequal correſpondence; for while thou tranſmitteſt to me foreign arts and knowledge, the boaſted commodities of Greece, all the return I make is from the cheap and familiar produce of our own country. Thy letters convince me of the vanity of Greece in valuing herſelf upon ſcience, as her property, which thou haſt gained ſuch an inſight into, (though it is matter of amuſement to thee, rather than any part of thy buſineſs) that thou couldſt eaſily tranſplant it hither, were it compatible with the policy of our government. But the true Perſian maxims would make the refinements of Greece needleſs by contracting our wants, and ſecuring us from the incroachments of luxury, which requires ſo many miniſtring and attendant arts in her retinue. To ſpeak truth, and draw the bow, is indeed an abridgment of a true Perſian education; which implies, that our bodies ſhould be fitted for the ſervice of our country, and our minds habituated to ſincerity and virtue. The faculties of man, I preſume, cannot be laid out in a more laudable ſervice. How little pleaſing ſoever the ſimplicity of this plan may be to a Greek, the great ends may more certainly, and with leſs danger of corruption, be attained by it, which they propoſe to themſelves by more indirect and laborious methods of ſtudy. I ſuppoſe the people of Athens deſire to hear truth, when they liſten to their orators, and theſe are thought beſt qualified to deliver it; yet no man will ſay, that to ſpeak truth

is an art, or requires any labour of the brain. What then is meant by the talent of eloquence, which is attained with ſuch difficulty? If it be to conceal truth, or to diſguiſe falſhood, ſo that it ſhall not be known, or to give it ſo amiable a dreſs, that we ſhall receive it knowingly; this indeed requires ſkill, but is no great accompliſhment; nor ſhould I think myſelf at all obliged to a man for being at ſo much pains to lead me out of my way. I gueſs the young philoſopher you ſpeak of is not addicted to oratory. Doth SOCRATES, who profeſſes and teaches others to ſtudy themſelves, affect it? I ſcarce believe ſo; the man, who ſearches his own breaſt, finds, that truth has a right to precedence there, and that the tongue ſhould interpret the heart. SOCRATES has prudently diſengaged himſelf from the boaſted wiſdom of his country, by profeſſing his ignorance and diſregard of it, in compariſon of that, which tends immediately to the cultivation of the mind, and eſtabliſhing an univerſal rule for human actions. This no doubt muſt be his aim, and he ſeems to bid fair for ſucceſs; for he, who would preſcribe to others, muſt learn from himſelf what maxims he could be content to be governed by. He muſt firſt draw reaſon from his own breaſt; and then it will be ratified by common conſent, when it comes to be re-applied to the underſtanding of others. The ſophiſt impoſes upon us falſe principles; and if our reaſon be too buſy in examining them, he intangles it in inextricable ſubtilties. The legiſlator demands our aſſent by the terror of his power; but SOCRATES, like a true rationaliſt, affects not to ſubdue our paſſions, without leaving every man an appeal to his own judgment, and thereby diſtinguiſhes the moraliſt from the politic legiſlator and falſe philoſopher, who equally aim at ſubjecting us to their own abſolute authority, under pretence of reforming our prejudices. This wiſe man's ſtudy of himſelf may be attended with great conſequences in bringing to light the dictates of reaſon, which are of undeniable au-

thority, and nothing leſs than the original revelation of OROMASDES. The divine will being thus aſcertained, the wiſe and virtuous will have a rational expectation of a recompence to their obedience; and the well-grounded hope of this reward will add weight to the reaſons of the moraliſt, and confirm his whole ſyſtem. It is eaſy for us, whom uncorrupt traditions and the books of ZOROASTER have inſtructed in worthy notions of the deity, to think what is ſo agreeable to our reaſon may be traced out by it alone. But if human reaſon is inſufficient to penetrate ſo far into the divine œconomy, may OROMASDES put himſelf in the way of this glorious inquirer; and thus perhaps ſhall his doctrine diffuſe itſelf univerſally, and the holy flame be lighted up in the temples of the weſt. Thou ſeemeſt, CLEANDER, to have no mean opinion of the Greek philoſophers, and perhaps mayſt think them worth undeceiving in ſome wrong conceptions of the Perſian religion. When OTANES, the great deſcendant of ZERDUSHT, accompanied XERXES into Greece, he ſhed the firſt dawn of divine light amongſt them; but they are perpetually miſinformed by travellers, who attend only to appearances, and repreſent ſome external rites, which they obſerve amongſt us, as the ſubſtance of our worſhip. I have been told, they have adopted ſome of the rites of Ægypt, which the Ægyptians themſelves uſed only as a ſymbol; ſo inſenſible are they to what is myſterious and exalted. They have no other than viſible objects of adoration; and their apprehenſion ſeems at a loſs in every thing, that is veiled from the ſenſe. Thus becauſe we religiouſly preſerve the purity of the elements, and think it impious by any unnatural commixture to pollute them, which in the creation were ſeparated and ordered to be kept without defilement, they call us worſhippers of theſe elements; a miſtake, which HERODOTUS himſelf is fallen into. I once met with a Greek, whoſe ignorance of my character made him uſe his national freedom towards me;

Greece, ſaid he, has no reaſon to regret the attempts, which Perſia has made on her liberty, ſince ſhe has been rewarded with immortal honour; and the barbarity of XERXES will be an eternal ſtain to Perſia, who deſtroyed all the temples of Greece out of a pretended diſlike of the uſe of them, while ſtill they were approved in Perſia. I told him, they were deſtroyed, becauſe they were ſaid to contain a God within them, which was found to be no other perhaps than an image of wood, which had been made and placed there by its worſhippers. To this he gave me what he thought a very ſufficient anſwer, that inſtead of burning the temples, XERXES ſhould have ſet fire to the images, which would in that condition have been fit objects for a Perſian worſhipper. The petulance of the man betrayed his ignorance, who had not made himſelf ſo far acquainted with us, as to know, that fire was a ſacred ſymbol, which ZERDUSHT brought down from heaven, to remind us, that this element is not more neceſſary to the bodies, than the cheriſhing influence of the deity is to the ſouls of men.

May thy wiſdom, CLEANDER, contribute to the reducing theſe contemptuous Greeks to the yoke of Perſia, which they have hitherto ſurpriſingly eſcaped. Who would have thought but XERXES had joined them to his dominions, when he linked the two continents together with his fleet! How near was DATIS executing his great maſter's order, who was commanded to ſend the inhabitants of Athens and Eretria in chains to Perſia? Eretria was incompaſſed and taken, and all its proud citizens ſent hither to gratify the will of their conqueror, where they now mourn their ſervitude. And had ſucceſs accompanied our arms at Marathon, the city, where thou now reſideſt, had been unpeopled, and her ſons tranſported to cultivate the deſert lands of Perſia, or, ſcattered over our numerous provinces,

had been utterly deprived of all hope of uniting themſelves again into a community. Farewel.

From Balch. H.

LETTER LXXII.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

THE games, which raiſed ſo great an expectation, and drew together ſuch a multitude of ſpectators, are now over; and I believe moſt of thoſe, who were preſent, employed like me in giving an account to their abſent friends of the remarkable circumſtances, that attended them. On the day appointed for the opening of the games, the whole aſſembly had early taken their places in the ſtadium of Olympia. The ſpot, where the combatants engage, is in the form of an arena or pit, and covered with ſand. The ſeats riſe round it one above another. The two firſt days out of the five allotted for the celebration of this ſolemnity were appointed for the wreſtling and boxing. The names of the candidates for the prize in thoſe exerciſes were read over before the people by an herald. Then a ſilver urn was produced, containing a number of balls equal to that of the combatants, and each pair was matched together, who drew out two balls, on which the ſame letters of the alphabet were inſcribed. After the competitors had rendered their bodies firm and ſupple by rubbing and pouring oil upon them, they beſmeared them with fine ſand to give the better hold for grappling. Several matches went forward at the ſame time. To obtain the victory it is requiſite to give two falls, and renew the combat three times. If a wreſtler, who is thrown, pulls his adverſary down with

him, they muſt grapple together upon the ground, till one of them getting uppermoſt conſtrains the other to aſk for mercy. Then the acclamations of the ſpectators, which continue with various interruptions whilſt the trial of ſkill laſts, are redoubled. The Hellanodicæ preſent the victor with the crown of olive, a branch of palm, and a robe, on the very ſpot, where he was engaged. In this equipage, preceded by a herald, he croſſes the ſtadium amidſt the ſhouts and praiſes of that innumerable concourſe of people. His name and country are proclaimed by ſound of trumpet; flowers, girdles, money and other preſents of that nature are thrown upon him, as he paſſes along. An odd accident happened to MILO of Crotona. That famous wreſtler preſented himſelf, but found no antagoniſt; upon which the preſidents of the games called him to preſent him with the crown, but as he advanced forwards to receive it, he fell down. The people immediately cried out, that one, who could not keep himſelf upon his legs, did not deſerve the honours due to a conqueror. The old man looked round, and anſwered with a great deal of ſpirit, "'Tis "true I have got one accidental fall, but I would willingly "ſee any man amongſt you, who could give me a ſecond." When theſe matches were over, the ſtadium was left clear for the boxers. They were armed for this rude encounter with the cæſtus, a leathern gauntlet, which folds round the fingers and upper part of the hand, and is faſtened at the wriſt, and ſtrengthened on the outſide with plates of iron or lead. I muſt own, though the agility and ſuppleneſs of the wreſtlers, and their various artifices to give or avoid a fall, afforded me ſome pleaſure, I could not behold without a ſecret horror the rough blows, which the boxers ſo unmercifully dealt on each other. It is no uncommon thing at theſe matches to ſee a contuſion raiſed on the face, an eye ſtruck out, or a jaw-bone cracked by the tremendous blows of the cæſtus. ANDROLICHUS one of the boxers

appeared like an object, who intended to excite the charity rather than the applauſes of the aſſembly. He loſt an eye at Piſa, his foreteeth at Nemea, had his noſe flattened at Delphi, and was carried off for dead here. That thou mayſt the better judge, how diſagreeable the ſpectacle muſt be to one, in whom cuſtom has not effaced the ſoft impreſſions of humanity, I will tell thee a remarkable incident, to which I was myſelf an eye-witneſs. Two boxers CREUGAS and DAMOXENES agreed, on the point of engaging, to give each other notice of every blow. The agreement was ill kept; for DAMOXENES having bid his adverſary lift up his hand, ſtruck him on the ſide with ſuch violence, that partly with the force of the blow, partly the ſharpneſs of his nails, he pierced his belly, and tore out his entrails. CREUGAS expired on the ſpot. The crown was decreed him, though dead, and DAMOXENES was puniſhed for his barbarity with perpetual baniſhment. The boxer, who ſhewed moſt ſkill, was THEAGENES of Syracuſe. He had acquired ſuch a ſtrength in his wriſts, that merely by parrying the blows of his competitor, and holding him at arm's length, he obliged him out of wearineſs to reſign the victory.

The Pancratiaſts, Pentathloi, and the Throwers of the Diſcus made their appearance on the third day. The performance of the firſt is a mixture of wreſtling and boxing; it borrows from the one thoſe violent contorſions of the limbs and ſhakes of the body, from the other the art of ſtriking and avoiding a blow. It is one of the roughеſt and moſt dangerous exerciſes, of which we had an inſtance in ARACHION of Sparta. That brave Pancratiaſt having received ſo violent a ſqueeze from his antagoniſt, that he was on the point of being ſtrangled, had ſtrength enough remaining to break the other's jaw, and obliged him to aſk for mercy, though the victor himſelf expired the moment

after. The Hellanodicæ ordered ARACHION to be crowned, as he lay dead on the ſtadium. The expreſſions of joy and ſatisfaction in the aſſembly at the brave action of the Spartan are not to be deſcribed.

The Pentathloi are a particular ſet of combatants, who have acquired ſuch a maſtery at wreſtling, boxing, throwing the diſcus, running, and caſting the javelin, as to perform in each the ſame day. They make it a rule never to match a Pentathlos with another, who has made one of theſe exerciſes alone his employment; as they ſuppoſe very reaſonably, that a perſon, who has divided his time between ſo many different occupations, cannot be equal to one, who has applied his whole time to be perfect in a ſingle exerciſe.

The diſcus is a huge maſs of iron of a roundiſh ſhape, and poliſhed ſurface. Thoſe who throw it, lean the whole weight of their body upon one of their legs, which they ſtep forwards; they whirl the diſcus round horizontally, and caſt it from them with their utmoſt force. He, who throws fartheſt, obtains the prize.

The fourth day was taken up with the runners on foot, and the race-horſes. The ſtadium for the former is compoſed of three parts; the entrance, which is marked by a barrier of wood; the middle, which is a riſing ground, where the crowns are placed in ſight of their competitors; and the goal, which is diſtinguiſhed by a large tree or poſt. There are two ſorts of racers; thoſe, who run naked, and thoſe, who are armed with a light helmet, a target, and a ſort of buſkin. There are likewiſe three ſorts of courſes. The courſe of the ſtadium, which is only from the barrier to the goal; the diaulos, which is twice the length of the

ſtadium; and the dolicus, which is much longer than either. DOLICHUS of Tarſus in Cilicia won the prize; and a poet has made an epigram, the turn of which is, that the "barrier and the goal are the only places, where "the young Cilician is ſeen; for no one can ſay, he was "ever perceived in the middle of the courſe.".

In the afternoon we removed to the hippodrome or horſe-courſe, which was laid out by the architect CLEATAS, and is looked upon as one of the curioſities of Greece. That part of it called the barrier, where the horſes and cars aſſemble before they enter the liſts, by the diſpoſition of the ground and buildings round it, reſembles the prow of a ſhip. It grows narrower towards the end, and forms a kind of beak juſt at the place where it opens into the courſe. In the midſt of the barrier is an altar; on the top ſtands a brazen eagle, which is made to raiſe itſelf, and extend its winds as a ſignal for the races to begin. On the ſides are vaulted buildings, which ſerve for ſtands to the horſes and chariots, till they proceed to take their places as the lots determine them. The courſe itſelf is divided into two parts, a terraſs, and a hill that riſes gently from the plain. There are two goals; at the one is a ſtatue of HIPPODAMIA holding a chaplet to crown PELOPS, at the other an altar to the genius TARAXIPPUS. It is obſerved, that at this altar the horſes take ſuch a ſudden fright, as frequently to overthrow their riders. The ſuperſtitious Greeks attribute it to a divine impulſe, and therefore make vows to obtain the favour of TARAXIPPUS.

In the horſe-races I particularly admired ſome expert riders, who being upon the back of one horſe, and leading a ſecond, would leap from one to the other with ſurpriſing agility. Nor is the addreſs of a mare belonging to PHIDOLAS of Corinth to be left unmentioned. Though her

maſter fell off in the beginning of the race, ſhe continued her courſe in the ſame manner as if he had kept his ſeat, turned round the goal, redoubled her vigor at the ſound of the trumpet, and came in the firſt. The Hellanodicæ ordered PHIDOLAS to be crowned, who has obtained permiſſion from the Eleans to erect a ſtatue to the memory of his mare Aura.

The fifth and laſt day was taken up in the chariot-courſes, which I thought were much the fineſt part of the ſight. The ſplendor of the equipages, as they were drawn out in a long line before the liſts, the neighing of the horſes, the cries of the charioteers, and the applauſes of that vaſt concourſe of ſpectators, formed a very cheerful and agreeable entertainment. Each chariot was drawn by four horſes all in front; the two beſt are always outermoſt. The chariot-race was as uſual full of a great many incidents. The car of ADMETUS the Corinthian broke down in turning round the goal, and two others, which followed behind, run foul upon it, and overturned their drivers. My friend PHILOCLES's horſes, which were very mettleſome, flew out ſo furiouſly at the altar of TARAXIPPUS, that with the violence of the ſhock he had like to have loſt his ſeat. He kept it with ſome difficulty; but a chariot of ALCIBIADES had an opportunity to paſs by him, and obtain the ſecond prize. That young Athenian, who had no leſs than ſeven chariots, which entered the liſts, won the firſt, ſecond, and fourth prizes. PHILOCLES came in for the third.

On the evening of the day, on which this ſolemnity ended, the Hellanodicæ made a ſupper, according to cuſtom, in the Prytaneum of Olympia, for the victors at the different exerciſes.

ALCIBIADES entertained the whole aſſembly the next in a manner anſwerable to the magnificence, wherein he had appeared at the games. EMPEDOCLES of Agrigentum gave us the moſt extraordinary regale. As he is a Pythagorean, both fiſh and fleſh are abſolutely forbid by the doctrines of his ſect; and therefore he had an ox made of paſte compoſed of myrrh, frankincenſe, and ſpices, which he diſtributed by pieces to all who preſented themſelves.

The different diſpoſitions of my five companions have rendered the pleaſure ariſing from the company and diverſions of Olympia peculiar to each. The pious and humane PHILEMON renews thoſe long-contracted friendſhips, which war claims a right of interrupting for a time; and is never more happy, than in trying to infuſe ſentiments of peace, and a friendly diſpoſition towards Athens in his Spartan and Corinthian acquaintance. CLINIAS has complained to me with ſome concern, that the learned performances repeated here do not equal thoſe he remembers formerly, when PINDAR charmed the ears of Greece by his odes, and HERODOTUS excited their attention to his hiſtory. The polite CHLORUS boaſts, that he was the firſt man, who congratulated ALCIBIADES upon gaining three prizes at the chariot-courſe, and was in return the firſt of the aſſembly invited to ſupper the next evening by that magnificent Athenian. HIPPIAS is not ſo far loſt to his buſineſs as a merchant amidſt the pleaſures of the place, but he has found time to drive ſeveral advantageous bargains. As to PHILOCLES, he thinks himſelf arrived to the higheſt pitch of happineſs and glory, to which a mortal can attain. For the Greeks, potent lord, hold their countrymen, who conquer at theſe games, in no ſmall degree of eſteem; they are not only maintained at the public charge for the reſt of their lives, but exempted from the burden of taxes and civil employments.

Thou wilt, I believe, agree with me in concluding, that though ſuch exerciſes as give a graceful appearance to the body, and form it for military ſervice, ſhould be cultivated in all wiſe ſtates; yet thoſe ought to be diſcountenanced, which tend only to breed up a ſet of idle perſons, who by making the art of maiming the limbs of their fellow-creatures their only employment, are in effect rendered fit for nothing elſe. However, one cannot help admiring that paſſionate love of glory, which urges on the Greeks to contend ſo earneſtly for the crown of olive. It brings to my mind a generous ſaying of TIGRANES the Mede: being informed, that the formidable invaſion of XERXES had not interrupted the Olympic games, and told at the ſame time in what the reward conſiſted, he cried out in raptures, even in the preſence of his ſovereign, "Heavens, MARDONIUS, "againſt what men are we come to fight, who do not make "wealth the object of their contention, but fame!" Adieu.

From Olympia. P.

LETTER LXXIII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS. From Olympia.

THE Mitylenian embaſſadors had a few days ago a public audience of the Peloponneſian allies in the temple of JUPITER OLYMPIUS. The chief of the embaſſy laid before them, in a long and artful harangue, the reaſons which had induced his ſtate to renounce their dependance upon Athens. He begun with deſiring the aſſembly not to be prejudiced againſt his ſtate, becauſe after continuing ſo many years in a firm alliance with the Athenians during the time of their proſperity, they now deſerted them in that of their diſtreſs. But, he ſaid, as the true motive of the treaty, which they had made with the Athenians, was not to aſſiſt them in ſubduing the reſt of the Greeks, but to join in the common cauſe againſt the Barbarians; ſo when once the ambitious views of Athens made her uſurp an unreaſonable ſuperiority over her neighbours, thoſe ties were naturally diſſolved. That the favours, which Athens had beſtowed upon them, and the lenity, with which they had been treated, though they carried a fair appearance, were intended to keep the Leſbians from ſtirring, whilſt that aſpiring republic was inſenſibly enſlaving the reſt of her allies. That therefore no charge of ingratitude to benefactors could lie againſt his countrymen, who were only preventing, by a timely precaution, thoſe dangers which ſurrounded them. He next repreſented the advantages, which the Peloponneſians would gain by receiving them into their alliance; that beſides ſtrengthening their fleet with a large ſquadron, they would

have an opportunity, by the convenient ſituation of Leſbos, to intercept thoſe ſupplies, which enabled Athens to continue the war. He ſet forth in exaggerated colours the weak condition of the latter, exhauſted by the plague, the expences of their preparations, and the loſſes they had ſuſtained; and concluded with ſolemnly entreating them in the name of Olympian JUPITER, in whoſe temple they were aſſembled, not to abandon a people, who were the firſt that had recourſe to their protection, but to ſhew they deſerved the glorious title, which they aſſumed, of protectors of the diſtreſſed, and deliverers of Greece. The aſſembly, with whom this ſpeech had no ſmall weight, after a ſhort deliberation returned a favourable anſwer, and unanimouſly decreed, that the Leſbians ſhould be comprehended in the Peloponneſian league. Deputies from the united ſtates have held ſeveral conferences in the Prytaneum of Olympia, to debate on the preſent poſture of their affairs. PHILEMON, who watches narrowly over all their deſigns, has diſpatched a courier to Athens with what intelligence he has been able to procure. He ſuſpects that they intend to form a general rendezvous at Corinth, and attack Athens both by ſea and land. It is certain, that orders have been iſſued out for providing immediately a large number of machines for tranſporting ſhips over land. The allies are now in the midſt of their harveſt; and it will occaſion ſome delays to take the people from their work, which will give the Athenians time to prepare a force ſufficient to oppoſe the attempts of their enemies. This ſudden turn of affairs, and the vigorous reſolutions of the allies, determine the company I came with to ſet out early to-morrow on their return to Athens. The news I received from HYDASPES, that the Perſian court intended to ſend a private agent to Sparta, afforded me no ſmall pleaſure. The miniſtry from over-looking both ſides of the game in a conjuncture very intereſting to Perſia, cannot fail of directing their councils on the ſureſt grounds, particularly

when ſo important a commiſſion is entruſted to one of CRATIPPUS's abilities. Noble ſatrap, I kiſs thy robe, and bid thee farewel.

The firſt of the month Metagitnion.

Extract of a Letter from Athens.

Diſpatches from CLIPPIDES were yeſterday read in the aſſembly of the people. He gives an account in them, that the whole iſland, except Methymna, had declared in favour of the Mitylenians; that the reinforcements he had received from thence, and our allies, enabled him to form two camps againſt the city, one on the north, the other on the ſouth ſide, and to block up their ports ſo entirely, that no ſuccours could arrive by ſea. The beſieged made a vigorous ſally, but were repulſed. Some embaſſadors from Thebes and Sparta (he adds) had found means to get into the town, and encouraged the inhabitants to hold out with the hopes of a ſpeedy relief.

P.

LETTER LXXIV.

GOBRYAS to CLEANDER.

THY letters to HYDASPES on the Olympic games, and thy remarks on the general appearance of the country, as thou haſt found it on thy way to that celebrated ſolemnity, were highly entertaining to him, MEGABYZUS, and myſelf. For thou haſt diſcovered in them a knowledge of the antiquities of Greece, ſuperior to what one might reaſonably expect from thy ſtay in it; and an elegance of taſte, which nature alone could give thee. The Great King was ſo particularly entertained with the copies, which he ſaw of them, that he has depoſited them for his own peruſal in the royal cabinet. He was pleaſed to tell me, "they opened "a new ſcene to him; that he had journied in fancy, like a quiet "and inoffenſive traveller, over a conſiderable part of thoſe ter- "ritories, where his great father had formerly carried ruin "and deſolation." Two of the Median lords, whom SACAS accuſed upon the rack, were conducted to Babylon by a detachment of Doryphori, under the command of ARASPES. They underwent an examination of three hours in MEGABYSUS's apartment; but it was with difficulty we were able to extort any thing from them, and the teſtimonials they gave of their behaviour have almoſt convinced ſome of the ſupreme council, that no material reproach can be fixed upon their characters. I confeſs to thee, I am rather willing to ſuſpend my ſentiments, till the common accidents of time, and ſuggeſtions of prudence, have enabled us to ſee further into this dark and intricate affair. It is hard to

imagine a wretch, who died in torments, would lay the charge of ſuch bloody purpoſes to other than his real accomplices; and I think the honour of a ſatrap is a point ſo tender, that it ought to be free not only from the imputation, but even the remoteſt ſuſpicion of guilt. I took the liberty to urge this once at a meeting of the miniſters, when I perceived many ſatraps were of a different opinion. For my own part, I have made the moſt accurate enquiries over the province of Media by means of ſeveral expert emiſſaries, whom I ſent thither; nor do I find among the inhabitants the leaſt inclination to revolt. What confirms me in it, is, that the king has not long ſince received a very loyal and dutiful addreſs from the people of that country, preſented to him by the hands of their principal nobles, in which they expreſs their ſenſe of his paternal care for the welfare of the Perſian empire; and congratulate him on the diſcovery of the execrable treacheries of SACAS, beſeeching OROMASDES to ſpread his guardian wing over the mighty ARTAXERXES, the peculiar favourite of heaven, and the favourite of every nation, whom the radiant MITHRAS ſurveys in his diurnal courſe. A few days ago I had intelligence, that OXYATHRES is retired into Scythia. I am afraid, he is far engaged in the eunuch's conſpiracy, and is fled from a conſcience of his criminal tranſactions. ARTÆUS inſinuated to me, when advice arrived of his departure, that it was probable, as that lord was deſcended from PHRAORTES, he might be the perſon deſigned in the paſſage tranſcribed by thee from one of SACAS's letters to PERICLES.

CRATIPPUS has orders to ſet out for Lacedemon as ſoon as the campaign is over in Greece. I have given him particular inſtructions to examine in the beſt manner that he can, what information the people of that city receive from their new envoy reſiding at this court, NICANDER,

The conferences which paſs between him and me, are whimſical enough; for while I am endeavouring to find out what lengths his commiſſion will ſuffer him to go with us, and what is the meaning of his embaſſy, he is ſtudious to anſwer me in ſuch a way, as that after the converſation is over, the reſult of it ſhall amount to nothing. Thou knoweſt, I am obliged by my office to recollect the ſubſtance of all interviews with foreign miniſters, in order to deliver them in a ſpeech at the council table; and to be plain with you, this NICANDER ſcarce gives me matter for a ſpeech. In that caſe I can only tell the ſatraps of the cabinet, how much I attempted to ſay, and how little he was pleaſed to reply; ſo that the moſt conſiderable part in the dialogue falls wholly to my ſhare.

The laſt time I talked with him, I exerted myſelf greatly before him, and drew him out by the mere violence of words into ſome warmth. As he is of a turn ſomewhat ſingular, I fancy thou wilt be entertained with a few traits of his manner in converſing. He acquainted me, "that he is commanded by the Spartans to require "a fleet of 100 ſail with 20,000 land forces from our "monarch; in return for which extraordinary aſſiſtance, "they offer their friendſhip, and a promiſe to aid us "with troops againſt any rebellion in Ægypt, or com-"motion in the provinces." I told him, "that my royal "maſter expects from the republic of Sparta terms of a "more important nature, if he vouchſafes to enter into a "league with them: that NICANDER could not but be "ſenſible, there are two articles in the treaty, called CI-"MON's peace, which the Perſians are deſirous to ſee "annulled: and therefore we muſt inſiſt, that the Lacede-"monians ſhall never be reconciled to Athens, unleſs we "are allowed free navigation on the Græcian ſeas, and "our monarch be put in full poſſeſſion of the colonies in

" Aſia." He anſwered, " As the Athenians were framers " of that treaty, he thought they were reſponſible for the " articles in it; and hoped ſo unſeaſonable a demand would " not be a means of obſtructing the alliance, which he " offered between ARTAXERXES and his native city:" adding, " that the empire of Perſia was like an unweildy " body, which, whenever it ſickned, might poſſibly want " relief from the influence of Lacedemon." I again repeated what I ſaid, and he determined to ſend a courier for freſh inſtructions immediately to Sparta. I then aſked him the reaſon, " Why the Peloponneſians, and particularly " his own countrymen, who boaſt of their great armies and " extenſive power, have as yet contented themſelves in the " management of their campaigns in Greece, with only " ravaging the barren ſoil of Attica? It ſeems to me, " (continued I) as if you made the buſineſs of war nothing " more than mock-ſkirmiſh and amuſement." " With us, " (anſwered he) war is reſt from our labours at home." " But (ſaid I) how comes it wiſdom has ſo damped your " valour, as that you will not dare to march up to the " walls of Athens? Methinks if I know the Spartans, they " would willingly exerciſe their courage in reality. Can " ſuch a people as this pretend to cope with the numerous " nations of the Eaſt?" " Yes, (replied he) Thermopylæ " can prove it." " And what did Thermopylæ prove, " (returned I) but the temerity of your leader? However " to be ſerious with you, I believe you may have ſome " political reaſons for not hazarding an attack upon Athens. " You will forgive me therefore, if I have purſued my " raillery too far, and I withdraw my objection, with reſpect " to the conduct of your fellow-citizens." " How? (an- " ſwered NICANDER with ſome eagerneſs) but if the ob- " jection does not withdraw itſelf I am in no wiſe deſirous " to be ſo far obliged to you: excuſe me, if I am beholden " to no one, for the withdrawing of an objection, when I

" am endeavouring to maintain an argument, which may " be ſupported by reaſon." I ſmiled at his impatience, and he informed me afterwards, that Athens itſelf was a ſtrong place, and in diſtreſſing her allies and tributary towns, ſhe was ſufficiently weakened by the Peloponeſian army. We then turned the converſation to ſome other topics, which indeed brought him again into good humour, but whereon he ſpoke with a diſagreeable brevity and reſerve. Upon the whole, CLEANDER, I foreſee we ſhall make no advantage of theſe embaſſies from the ſtiff republic of Lacedemon. Wouldſt thou know my opinion of the Spartans? 'Tis this; they are a proud and ſevere people. Let them thank LYCURGUS, who has made them ſo! Unlike the reſt of the admired ſages, who have given ſalutary laws to the world, inſtead of enlarging the minds of an ignorant race, he has more effectually contracted them. Inſtead of teaching them a little condeſcenſion to others, they have learnt only to ſet a value upon themſelves. Inſtead of poliſhing them into an eaſe and benevolence of temper, he has reformed them out of it. And for the ſake of avoiding the refinements of luxury, he has introduced a neglect of that humanity in the leſſer offices of life, which adds ſuch a reliſh to the enjoyment of it.

C.

LETTER LXXV.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER. From Heliopolis.

IN a former letter * from Thebes, CLEANDER, I took notice to thee of the extravagant veneration paid by the Ægyptians to ſeveral of their home-bred animals, which muſt appear at firſt ſight exceedingly abſurd and ridiculous. It was my opinion, that the application of them in their hieroglyphic imagery to expreſs the nature and attributes of their gods, had acquired to them this extraordinary degree of ſacredneſs; and to palliate this ſuperſtition the prieſts inſinuate, that the worſhip aſcribed to animals is purely relative, and ultimately directed to the divinities, of whom they are the ſymbols. Now as many of their gods were probably men deified, I am led to think, that there is a reference in theſe ſymbols, as well to the qualities, actions, and remarkable endowments of thoſe illuſtrious perſons, as to the nature and qualities of thoſe ſidereal divinities, under which they were afterwards worſhipped. A black ox for example, the animal ſacred to the ſun, is the ſymbol of OSIRIS, becauſe OSIRIS, ſay the prieſts, is the ſun, and the moon ISIS: but as thoſe deities during their reign in Ægypt were the firſt who introduced agriculture, ſo on that account likewiſe the ox and cow might become their ſymbols. And for this cauſe, they tell you, the ſoul of OSIRIS after his death retired into that animal, and choſe to dwell there rather than any where elſe, becauſe the ox was the ſymbol of agriculture. Hence the ox Mnevis or Menes, which is

* Letter XXXII.

conſecrated to the ſun, came to be held in ſuch veneration, and worſhipped here for a god, as the apis is at Memphis. And this reminds me of another reaſon alledged for the worſhip of the ſacred animals, though indeed a very fabulous one, taken from the mythological hiſtory of Ægypt; that the gods having been once purſued by TYPHON, concealed themſelves under the figures of different animals, which may perhaps mean no more, than that the celeſtial gods come down ſometimes to dwell in thoſe ſymbols, which repreſent them. And without ſome ſuch interpretation their mythology concerning OSIRIS is ſtrangely confuſed and inexplicable, which makes him to be the ſun, and ſuppoſes, that while his ſoul informs the body of an ox, it ſtill reſides in that luminary. Near akin to this is their doctrine of tranſmigration, which may be another cauſe of their paying regard to animals. For the Ægyptians ſay, they were the firſt who maintained that the ſoul of man was immortal, and that after death it paſſed ſucceſſively into the bodies of animals, terreſtrial, aquatic, and aerial; whence it returns to animate the body of a man, and finiſhes this circuit in three thouſand years. There is through the different parts of Ægypt ſo great diverſity in their modes of worſhip, that upon a ſlight examination one might be induced to think they differed entirely about their deities; and that there was no one general ſcheme of religion, in which they all agreed. And indeed their mythology, whatever it be in itſelf, ſeems very perplext and intricate to one, who is left to collect it from external ceremonies, popular cuſtoms, and the dark hints, which their prieſts, like oracles, at times deliver with great reſerve and myſteriouſneſs. Yet I am of opinion, they do not ſo much diſſent with regard to the deities themſelves, as to the ſymbols, under which they would repreſent their natures and attributes. For firſt I am certain, that ISIS and OSIRIS are every where adored, though they are differently repreſented,

and the modes of their worſhip vary in different places. Neither do I think it improbable, but that the goat at Mendes receives divine honours on the ſame account, that the ox does here and at Memphis. When the Mendeſian goat is dead, there is the ſame mourning throughout the whole nome, as they obſerve upon the drowning of their ſacred ox at Memphis. The Mnevis, Apis, and Mendeſian goat are held more ſacred than all the other animals of Ægypt, as if they had the influence of the god more immediately reſiding in them. The former two the prieſts expreſly declare to have in them the ſoul of OSIRIS, as they pretend the latter to be the god PAN. But as there are two oxen equally ſacred in their reſpective places, it ſeems difficult to underſtand, how the ſoul of OSIRIS ſhould have paſſed into both at once. But this I take to have been the caſe; when they deified their hero MENES, who is called OSIRIS, they conſecrated him into a ſidereal divinity, implying either, that his ſpirit paſſed into the ſun, or that the ſoul of that luminary had reſided in OSIRIS. The great lights of heaven were doubtleſs the moſt obvious of all viſible objects to fill the minds of men with a religious reverence. And by thus grafting the worſhip of their deified heroes upon the mythology of the celeſtial bodies, they found the likelieſt method to divert the attention of ſuch as were their neareſt contemporaries from all thoſe circumſtances in their lives, by which they might remember thoſe gods to have been men like themſelves. But in order to ſecure a more particular reſpect in ſucceeding ages to the perſon himſelf, who was conſecrated as a god, and leſt the honour intended him might be ſwallowed up in the worſhip of an original deity, I ſuppoſe thoſe rites and myſteries were invented, which bear a particular alluſion to the great events of his life, or that remarkable cataſtrophe, which put an end to it. And being received into the number of the gods, it was neceſſary he ſhould be remembered by the

particular relation he bore to Ægypt. Thus I ſuppoſe the hierophants introduced the worſhip of the ſacred ox as the god OSIRIS, led to it by the hieroglyphic imagery and their doctrine of tranſmigration; and tempered their impoſture to the genius of the vulgar, who are moſt taken with the groſſeſt repreſentations. OSIRIS having reigned over all Ægypt, and after his death being remembered as a tutelar deity, in which the whole country had an equal intereſt, it is not to be wondered, if upon the diviſion of the kingdoms the chief city both of the upper and lower Ægypt ſhould claim his preſence among them. And it being an eſtabliſhed opinion, that without the living image of their god the worſhip of it could not be rightly ſolemnized, they both, while divided in their intereſts, forming alſo a ſchiſm in their religion, ſought out for themſelves their own ſacred ox; and ſo the ſoul of OSIRIS has ever ſince continued to inform two different animals, though the prieſts of the two cities are ſince become more united in their intereſts. But the vulgar, blinded with ſuperſtition, examine not into theſe things; and the prieſts treat this matter with their uſual ſophiſtry and colluſion; though when hardly preſſed by men of reaſon and enquiry, they ſeem rather to maintain, that the god OSIRIS manifeſts himſelf in the ſacred ox, than that the ſacred ox is itſelf the god OSIRIS.

This worſhip of OSIRIS I may call the popular religion of Ægypt. What more recondite doctrines are concealed under the myſteries of ISIS, I am not concerned in the preſent ſubject to enquire. Neither will I enter into a perplext detail of their original deities, who are ſaid to have reigned in Ægypt. For the reign of thoſe deities I take to mean the mundane revolution, which I ſpoke of

in a former letter;* and 'tis remarkable that the time which they aſcribe to the reign of all their gods, amounts exactly to the ſame period of 36,525 years. The reign therefore of the gods I conceive to imply, that the ſun, moon, and ſtars run their courſes thouſands of years before man was upon the earth. The names of thoſe deities they confound with their demi-gods and heroes. I have been ſometimes of opinion, that by VULCAN they mean an eternal deity, for they commonly ſpeak of his reign as unlimited; but his worſhip is not univerſal throughout Ægypt. Their theology in ſhort (as I have hinted elſewhere) may be reſolved into a ſyſtem of the world, and their ISIS and OSIRIS, though generally taken for the ſun and moon, which are ſuppoſed to contribute to the generation of all things, have moreover been acknowledged as deities through every part of nature, and conſecrated over and over into different ſtars and elements, as new diſcoveries came to be made in the heavens or any where elſe through the ſyſtem of nature. About the ſame time that the five intercalary days were added to their year, 'tis likely that the Ægyptian aſtronomers had obſerved the appearance of five new ſtars in their horizon, which their predeceſſors had taken no notice of. And upon this occaſion they conſecrated their ISIS anew, with others of their deities, and ſuppoſed her to riſe in the dog-ſtar. ORUS the ſon of ISIS and OSIRIS is generally made the laſt of the gods, who reigned in Ægypt. Now OSIRIS is undeniably the firſt of their kings, whom any of their hiſtories reach up to. And their other gods, if they are to be referred to real beings, beſides the ſeveral operations and powers of nature, there is good reaſon to think, were OSIRIS's immediate progenitors or contemporaries. Such in general, CLEANDER, are the conjectures I have been able to form upon the

* Letter XXV.

Ægyptian mythology. Thou wilt conſider it as a ſubject, which a very ſubtle body of men have made it their ſtudy to perplex and render intricate. By the figure of a Sphinx in the avenues of their temples, the ſeem deſignedly to imply, that the doctrine of their gods is obſcure and ænigmatical.

Adieu. L.

LETTER LXXVI.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

THOU mayſt think it extraordinary, after all I have heard of the wiſdom of the Areopagus, that I never attended in any cauſe before that council till yeſterday. And the cauſe was indeed ſuch a one, that I ſhould have been curious to have heard the debate of it in a court, however low in reputation; much more before perſons of the higheſt for the good ſenſe and integrity of their judgments.

In the laſt great feaſt of BACCHUS, the ſolemnity of which draws a prodigious reſort of ſtrangers from all parts of Greece, ARISTOPHANES preſented a play intitled THE BABYLONIANS; wherein CLEON was reflected upon in a manner, that greatly incenſed him. He was the more offended at it, as it is the firſt performance, in which he has been publicly ridiculed; and having been courted and admired, when he appeared at the head of an oppoſition to PERICLES, he is exceedingly impatient of any ſatire, which

tends to hurt his popularity. *As the comedy had been received with much applauſe, he determined it ſhould be condemned upon legal reaſons, though it ſtood the teſt of a critical examination. Accordingly he delivered in an account of the offence to the Areopagus, and accuſed the poet, as " *guilty of defamation, and one, who expoſed " the citizens and the ſtate to the deriſion of foreigners." Towards the duſk of the evening, the judges were ſeated in the open air upon MARS's hill. The plaintiff and defendant were placed on the ſtools of Injury and Innocence. CLEON opened with great ſpirit and impetuoſity; and notwithſtanding the diſguſt, which the people in general expreſſed at this attempt to deter the comic writers from that licentious buffoonery, which entertains and flatters them, he ſhewed himſelf ſuperior to ſuch murmers, however affected by the ſtings of wit. He ſaid, " that he pretended " to no rhetoric; nor would it be proper, or even lawful " to exert it before this judicature, if he excelled at all in " it: but that there was a natural eloquence accompanying " the complaints of the injured, which, if it betrayed him " into warm expreſſions, might more eaſily be excuſed " than controuled. He underſtood, from the laws of " SOLON, that the republic had a tenderneſs for the reputa- " tion of private men, and allowed an action of ſlander; " a ſtill greater for that of magiſtrates, in whoſe character " its own dignity and welfare are concerned; that it was " neceſſary their character ſhould be guarded by the ſevereſt " laws in a Democracy, becauſe they are ſo very limited in " the exerciſe of power. To ſupply the defects of power, " their authority (which ariſes from reputation) muſt of " courſe be ſteadily ſupported. That it mattered not, how " far the facts alluded to in THE BABYLONIANS were true;

* Quo nomine dicam illi ſcripſit [ſc. CLEON ARISTOPHANI] ea autem erat ἀδικίας εἰς τὰς πολίτας. PETIT. in leg. Att. p. 79.

" it was to be conſidered, whether the alluſions carried an " illegal reproach. That it became them to underſtand the " paſſages, which gave them offence, in the ſame manner " they were underſtood in full theatre; that the taſk of " ſcandal would be very eaſy, if theſe pitiful tools of it " were given to know, that their pieces are to be taken " in one ſenſe by the audience, and in another by a court " of juſtice. This would be giving a ſanction to evaſions, " by which the effect of the laws may be either deſtroyed " or diminiſhed. That he was extremely unwilling to find " fault with any diverſions, which engaged the attention " of Greece, and raiſed the glory of Athens; but he con- " ſidered the contempt thrown on himſelf, the magiſtrates, " and the public meaſures to be much worſe in the feſtivals, " when there was ſo general a concourſe, than in ſuch as " were attended merely by their own citizens. That it " became every man, who loved his country, to draw a " veil over its weakneſs, its puſillanimity, or raſhneſs, and " not to expoſe before all Greece in a fit of laughter, what " they ſhould wiſh to hide even from themſelves. He con- " cluded with hoping, that thoſe magiſtrates would protect " the commonwealth from the impudent licence of comedy, " who are expreſly forbidden by the laws to write a per- " formance of that nature."

When CLEON had done, ARISTOPHANES was called upon to offer ſomething in his own defence. I thought the aſſurance of the man would not have deſerted him in any circumſtances; but the occaſion was too trying, and the place too ſolemn. He ſeemed much confounded, and his adverſary called out to him, " that he muſt not think of " impoſing upon this tribunal by his theatrical pleaſantries;" which diſturbed him more. However he recovered himſelf ſo far as to ſpeak to the following effect: " That as the pro- " ſecution, carried on by CLEON in this court, was ſin-

" gular and new, though grounded on a law which had " been long in force, he hoped the judges would conſider " well the conſequence of it, before they gave a determina- " tion. That no man knows what he does, when he makes " a precedent: and if by cenſuring him upon the complaint " before them, they ſhould go contrary to the opinion of " the excellent judges, who had reviewed and allowed his " comedy, contrary to the avowed practice of the ſtate, " the poets would be uncertain, how far they were ſecure " upon the ſtrength of the deciſions made by thoſe judges; " the public feſtivals would be deprived of a very conſider- " able ornament; and the vicious be equally ſafe with the " virtuous from that ridicule, which had been found inſtru- " mental to good manners. That it was particularly the " buſineſs of this court to watch the morals of the people; " but as they acted by certain rules, and could only lay " open offences actually committed within the letter or " intention of the law, there were ſeveral very blameable " parts of conduct, both above and below their cognizance: " that theſe equally belonged to the province of comedy, " and where the ſword of the magiſtrate could either not " reach, or not be ſuitably applied, he apprehended the " poet to be uſeful. That he hoped the wiſdom of that " council would protect ſuch, as were carrying on by " efficacious, and, he conceived, legal means, the ends " of their inſtitution. That this way of reforming was " wonderfully agreeable to the people, and the nature of " the government: that he feared more danger from the " increaſe of thoſe diſorders, which the freedom of his pen " had cenſured, than from the opinion the Greeks might " entertain of the ſtate, by attending to the force of thoſe " cenſures: that to be the firſt in diſcovering and acknow- " ledging one's faults, is an argument of underſtanding, " as to be the laſt in theſe important points, is an argument " of exceeding folly: but it was not ſtrange, that thoſe

" ſhould council others to hide their errors from themſelves, " who were ſo uneaſy when their own are reproved. That " he was extremely ſorry to have a conteſt with one, who, " in the time of PERICLES, was, of all the Athenians that " honoured his pieces with their preſence, the moſt applaud- " ing ſpectator."

I found the inclinations of the people, who attended theſe pleadings, not at all diſpoſed to favour CLEON; and the ſtroke, with which ARISTOPHANES concluded, gave ſo much pleaſure, that it would have raiſed a general laugh againſt him, were not that directly forbidden by the rules of the court. The complaint was ordered to be reſerved for another hearing, and no judgment pronounced. It is thought, the affair will be dropped, and CLEON ſatisfied with terrifying ARISTOPHANES, and revenging himſelf by the ſeverity of his oration. The comic poet ſwears by THALIA, the muſe of his art, that he will not ſpare the currier in the next repreſentation at the leſſer feaſt of BACCHUS.

HYDASPES, thou haſt no notion of the ſatirical ſpecies of wit ſo much admired in this country; and it is a greater commendation to ſay, thou wanteſt it, than that thou haſt the reſt at thy command. It is admired, becauſe it flatters the vanity of every private man to be entertained at the expence of his neighbours; and eſpecially, becauſe it flatters the licence of a popular government to be entertained at the expence of its leaders. Little minds are fond of placing themſelves on a level with the great; for if they fall very much below thoſe qualities, which adorn them, they are perhaps ſuperior to the foibles, which debaſe them. If this reflection on the weakneſs of great men, by proving that they are but men, could engage us to aſpire to an imitation of their excellencies, it were indeed a very uſeful conſe-

quence; but I am afraid it makes us true to our own failings, and inclines us to purſue comparative, not real goodneſs. Let me add, that as in conſidering the portion of happineſs aſſigned us, we are apt to look upwards, and repine, if others have apparently more; ſo in conſidering our moral perfection, we are apt to look downwards, and are ſatisfied, if others have apparently leſs; whereas in both caſes the reverſe is the right conduct. And were it followed, we ſhould endeavour to copy the beſt models, inſtead of being contented to avoid the worſt. For this reaſon it would be far better, if, as in the earlieſt times, wit were exerciſed in the panegyrics of Gods and heroes, to invite us to moral actions, by repreſenting the moſt perfect patterns, and not in ſatire, which delights only in pictures of deformity. There would be leſs too of the diſguſt and melancholy, which ſpeculations on the dark ſide of human nature occaſion in the generality, above all, in the moroſely virtuous, who form ideas of its corruptions worſe than its moſt depraved condition will juſtify, or the very being of ſociety admit. In a word, the virtue of every man would then be adjuſted according to the examplar given us in the characters of heroes, and the natural conſtitution of things, not meaſured by the failings of thoſe about him; and the world might be reſtored to its own good opinion, as well as to the favour of OROMASDES.

C.

LETTER LXXVII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS. From Athens.

THOU wilt not be ſurprized, that my correſpondence with Perſia hath been interrupted ſince my departure from Olympia, when I tell thee the occaſion of it. The morning after my arrival at Athens, a decree paſt the aſſembly of the people, that in the preſent exigence of affairs all the citizens, except the ſecond order called Hippeis (who only ſerve on horſeback) as well as the ſtrangers reſiding at Athens, ſhould repair without delay on board the fleet. Though I had ſcarce recovered the fatigue of the journey, and was ſenſible, that the accidents of the ſea, and the uncertainty of finding a conveyance for my letters would be a hindrance to the duties of my employment for ſome months; yet I conſidered at the ſame time, that an unwillingneſs to go would either raiſe a ſuſpicion of my real character, or betray a coolneſs in my affection to the ſtate. Within a few days I prepared my military equipage, and complied with a very obliging offer of PHILOCLES to ſerve as a volunteer on board the quadrireme, which he commanded. When the fleet, conſiſting of a hundred gallies of which PHORMIO was admiral, had received ſailing orders, and the wind ſat fair to carry them out of Piræeus, almoſt the whole city aſſembled on the ſhore, to ſee the ceremonies practiſed on ſuch occaſions, and take the laſt leave of their friends and relations, who were repairing to their reſpective ſhips. Firſt ſilence was pro-

claimed by ſound of trumpet; the public herald repeated a ſolemn form of words, which contained vows to the gods for the ſucceſs of the Athenian arms. When that was ended, the admiral and trierarchs of the fleet appeared on deck; and after they had poured a libation to NEPTUNE, drank in golden cups to the fortune of the voyage. Whilſt a Pæan was ſinging, the whole fleet ranged themſelves in line of battle, ſtruck their oars, and made the beſt of their way out of their harbour, amidſt the acclamations of that vaſt concourſe of ſpectators. We proceeded for the coaſt of Peloponneſus, and after waiting in vain for the enemy's fleet to come out, made deſcents in ſeveral parts, and ravaged the country. We were informed by ſome priſoners, that the allies had drawn together a ſmall body of troops at Corinth, being much diſappointed by the uneaſineſs, which ſeveral of their cities expreſſed at the continuance of the war, and diſpirited by the extraordinary armament, which the Athenians had fitted out in ſo ſhort a time. As an attempt to demoliſh the Corinthian fleet in port was looked upon as too hazardous, we contented ourſelves in ſhewing the ſuperiority of our ſtrength in the eyes of all Greece; and on hearing the allies were retired into winter-quarters, received orders to return. The expences of this year's campaign, though it has been unactive, have proved very burdenſome to the Athenians. Beſides the fleet, which cruiſed about Peloponneſus, they had another of the ſame force to guard their own coaſts; and have lately ſent a reinforcement of 50 ſhips to CLIPPIDES, under the command of PACHES, with a ſupply of 200 talents. They are in great hopes, that Mitylene will be obliged to ſurrender before the beginning of next ſummer, as it is now blocked up both by land and ſea.

The reſolute and brave action of 220 Plateans is at preſent the general ſubject of converſation here. The ſcarcity of

proviſion within the town, and the difficulty of throwing in relief from without, inſpired a party of the garriſon with the bold deſign of eſcaping through the lines. They began with computing the height of the wall of circumvallation by exactly reckoning the number of the rows of bricks, that compoſed it. They next took the advantage of a dark tempeſtuous night, and ſallied out of the town under the guidance of THEÆNETUS an augur, and EUPOLPIDAS an officer, marching at ſome diſtance from each other to prevent the claſhing of their armour. They applied the ladders to the intervals between the towers, two of which were immediately ſeized, and the centinels killed. A looſe tile, that fell from the wall, gave an alarm to the Peloponneſian camp; but as the beſieged made a feint ſally on the other ſide, and the darkneſs of night and the ſtorm, which beat full in their faces, helped to encreaſe the confuſion, they durſt not leave their poſts. In the mean time the ſelect number, that had made themſelves maſters of the towers, ſecured the paſſage for the reſt of their company, who, when they had mounted the firſt wall, changed the ladders, and came down on the other ſide, where they drew themſelves up to defend the detachment, that were preparing to quit the towers. Whilſt theſe laſt were deſcending a body of reſerve belonging to the beſiegers came up with lights, and the whole Platean party had juſt time to make their eſcape. They retired by the way, that lies towards Thebes, in order to deceive the Peloponneſians, who ſent out detachments in purſuit of them on the road leading to Athens. When they were returned to the camp, the Plateans changed their courſe, and arrived ſafely here. I have procured from one of them a plan of the fortifications of the city, and the works of the beſiegers, which I ſend encloſed in this packet, together with a journal of

the expedition to the coaſts of Peloponneſus drawn up by PHILOCLES.

The advantages, which the Athenians have received from a war now advanced to the concluſion of its fourth year, are ſo trifling in compariſon of the ambitious projects, which they formed to themſelves at the beginning of it, and the inſupportable burden of their annual expences, that ſeveral of the moſt intelligent and diſintereſted citizens begin to think ſeriouſly of propoſing terms for an honourable accommodation. But the party, that deſire the continuance of the quarrel, have a great influence over the minds of the ignorant multitude, and flatter them with hopes of aſſiſtance from ſeveral foreign princes, as PERDICCAS king of Macedon, SITALCES, and our potent monarch. The head of this faction, CLEON, has lately received a diſgrace, under which nothing but his matchleſs aſſurance could ſupport him. He had taken a bribe of five talents from ſome tributary iſlands, to obtain for them a diminution of the taxes, which they pay to this ſtate. The bargain by ſome means or another got air, and the Hippeis (or knights) brought a charge of corruption againſt him in the name of their order, before the Areopagus. The accuſation was clearly made out, and he was obliged to refund the talents. LAMACHUS a young man is lately elected one of the ten generals by CLEON's intereſt, who carried his point in ſo high a manner, that it gave ſingular offence. The oppoſite party have engaged ARISTOPHANES the comic poet, to write a play, which is intended to prepare the minds of the people for overtures of peace, by ſetting forth the detriment, that the war occaſions to the common intereſt of Greece, the miſeries it has brought upon Athens, and the views of their orators and generals, who deſire to prolong it. Neither the memory of PERI-

CLES, nor the characters of the preſent adminiſtration, will be ſpared in the piece, which is to be performed at the next feaſts of BACCHUS.

I cannot pretend to determine, whether the repreſentation of this comedy will have that effect upon the minds of the people, which ſome expect from it. It has been long obſerved of the Athenians, that though they ſee even with pleaſure their greateſt miniſters accuſed upon the ſtage of the groſſeſt enormities, and villified with the ſevereſt ſatire, and permit the fables of their deities to be expoſed with all the licentiouſneſs of a ſcurrilous buffoon wit; yet neither is the management of their affairs taken from the former, nor a grain of incenſe leſs offered upon the altars of the latter. Farewel.

P.

LETTER LXXVIII.

CRATIPPUS to CLEANDER.

THERE is no part of my inſtructions, that I obey with ſo much private ſatisfaction, as that relating to my correſpondence with thee. From hence I not only foreſee the greateſt advantage to our maſter's ſervice, but I promiſe myſelf the moſt valuable improvements from the communication of thy ſagacity and experience, and perhaps, ſhould I be found not unworthy, a friendſhip, which will be the honour of my future life.

When the council of the Great King, obſerving the new light that was thrown upon the affairs of Greece by every diſpatch of thine from Athens, had determined to place an agent alſo at Sparta, my patron GOBRYAS caſt his eyes upon me for that employment. He conſidered, that the misfortunes of my family would be a proper recommendation of me here. We fell with the ariſtocracy, and were obliged to leave Rhodes, when the popular faction prevailed, and made an alliance with Athens. My two brothers have ever ſince taken up their reſidence on the oppoſite coaſt of Caria, waiting for ſome turn of affairs in our favour. And thou knoweſt, thoſe of our principles throughout all Greece place their only hope in the ſucceſs of the Peloponneſian arms.

As ſoon as I arrived, I waited upon BRASIDAS, a young officer of reputation, and preſented to him the token from

my brother THERON his hoſt. He received it very cordially, and expreſſed his ſatisfaction at this opportunity of returning the good offices done him, while the galley he commanded lay in the port of Caunus. I told him, that driven from my own country I had made the tour of Greece and Aſia, and had even ſeen the court of the Great King; but that, tired with wandering, I was determined to fix at laſt in this ſeat of ſecurity and virtue, where valour and diſcipline repel all dangers from without, and an uniform obedience to the beſt laws prevents the more fatal evils from within. He replied with a ſmile, that a taſte of Suſa was by no means a preparation for a Spartan diet; but that he would obtain a licence from the Proxeni for my ſtay in the city, and would propoſe me for a member to the little ſociety, where he daily eat his frugal meal. I thanked him, and added, that I might perhaps not be altogether unworthy ſome favour from the ſtate, as I was thoroughly informed of the condition of the Rhodian marine, a point my countrymen were ſo jealous of, and which might be a diſcovery of conſequence in the preſent war.

The whole city is at preſent taken up with the funeral of ARCHIDAMUS. It is indeed a moſt ſolemn ceremony; as if this people intended by ſo much reſpect paid to their dead princes, to make amends for the ſmall ſhare of regal pomp and authority they allow them when living. His character thou art no ſtranger to. He was the hoſt of thy friend PERICLES. Theſe two great men were ſuſpected and traduced for meaſures, which the event proved to be wiſe and honeſt; and they moſt effectually diſtreſſed each other by thoſe very counſels, which were branded with the name of colluſion and treachery. Yet ſtill the memory of ARCHIDAMUS is purſued with reproaches; and a prudent and glorious adminiſtration of more than forty years cannot make amends for his unwillingneſs to enter ſuddenly into a

deſperate war, and his forbearing a while to puſh the enemy in ſuch a manner, as would render all terms of accommodation impoſſible. This furious ſpirit is kept up in the republic by the Ephore STHENELAIDAS, he, whoſe violent oration prevailed over all the king's reaſons, and hurried the aſſembly into a vote, that the treaties were broken on the part of Athens.

From the imperfect ſurvey of things I have yet been able to take, I muſt not pretend to determine the queſtion about this war, how far Sparta was intereſted in the quarrel of her Corinthian allies; or what credit ſhe might give to the Athenians offer of ſatisfaction. But this I am convinced of, it will ever be my duty to add fuel to this flame, and to attach myſelf to the party, which declares againſt all overtures of peace. While their diſputes continue (which we ſhould wiſh for in the firſt place) the general force of Greece is daily growing weaker. And ſhould even one of the powers prevail, and put an end to the war by the ruin of its rival, that every ſucceſs would turn the thoughts of the conqueror upon tyrannizing over Europe; nor would he quit that near and tempting proſpect for the diſtant view of empty glory in the fields of Aſia. Adieu.

From Sparta. W.

LETTER LXXIX.

CLEANDER to ORSAMES.

SINCE I read over the writings of the Grecian poets, noble friend, I have often thought it might be a very improving as well as pleaſing ſpeculation, to inquire into the cauſe and origin of fables in the world; how the powers of nature and the human paſſions were firſt allegorized; and in what manner the plain facts of ancient hiſtory came to be mixed with the ornaments of a poetic imagination. After having made ſome ſearch into the ſubject, at leaſt ſo far as might enable me to converſe upon it, I went one day into the Lyceum, and fell accidentally into diſcourſe with CTESIPHON a learned ſophiſt. He told me, he ſhould be very proud to inſtruct an inquiſitive ſtranger in a point, which he himſelf had ſo thoroughly conſidered: but I muſt intreat you, ſaid he, not to diſcover to any one thoſe ſentiments, which I ſhall lay before you, leſt ſome malicious perſon ſhould accuſe me of ſpeaking againſt the gods of my country, and cite me to appear before the court of Areopagus. I aſſured him of my inviolable ſecrecy, and then he entered on the matter without further apology. You know, ſaid he, that the eaſtern parts of the world are thought to have been much ſooner peopled than the climates of the Weſt. The Greeks therefore lived for many years in a ſtate of ignorance and rudeneſs, while other regions enjoyed the ornaments as well as the conveniencies of life. Their diet was of the wild herbs of the field; their clothing of leaves; and the caverns, which were formed by the hand

of nature in unculvitated mountains, were their places of habitation. The coloners, who mixed with them from Ægypt and Phœnicia, endeavouring to temper the ſavageneſs of the nation: and by communicating their cuſtoms to them, inſenſibly formed them to the politer arts of humanity. They taught them to ſtrip the wool from the ſkins of animals, and to cure it for uſe. The knowledge of building and agriculture, when firſt revealed to them, was eſteemed of ſo excellent and neceſſary a nature, that the gratitude, which they owed to their benefactors, very naturally broke out into expreſſions of adoration. They regarded them as ſent from heaven for the benefit of mortals, and adopted them after death among their deities. Hence aroſe the gods of the Greeks; and their ORPHEUS, APOLLO, and HERMES (who is the ſame with the THOTH or MERCURY of Egypt) take their riſe from the laws and manners, which they gave to a barbarous and rough race. And to ſay the truth, CLEANDER, ſuch improvements as theſe might well demand the admiration of mankind in the dawnings of ſcience, which are the principal ſupports of health and ſocial felicity in more illuminated ages. Your account is certainly a very fair one, anſwered I, and what I ſhall readily acquieſce in. But methinks the craft of theſe wiſe men concurred with the ignorance of theſe ſavages in the advancement of fable. For the firſt lawgivers and reformers of mankind, the better to claim reſpect from their countrymen and kindred, were ambitious to be thought deſcended from the gods, and to have had frequent interviews with them of ſingular importance. Yes, replied he, a divine miſſion ſtrikes immediately with awe, and inclines us to implicit reverence and belief. The prieſts too were careful to contend with one another in raiſing altars to the memory of a new hero, and vamping up religious ceremonies to be performed in his honour. They buſied themſelves in writing whole volumes of fables;

and he, who had the beſt invention, generally bore away the approbation of the multitude to his ſhrine, as well as the gainful applauſe of the more wealthy. Beſides, before the uſe of letters and writing came amongſt us, the remembrance of great and illuſtrious actions depended only on a ſort of family or national tradition. Sometimes indeed they raiſed a monument with an uncouth repreſentation engraven on it of the thing, which gave occaſion to the erecting it; and perhaps now and then an irregular ſong was tuned to the praiſes of a celebrated conqueror. Undoubtedly, returned I, tradition is a fatal enemy to truth. One may ſuppoſe, for inſtance, that in order to imprint a ſtory more effectually on the minds of children and ſtangers, a man zealous for the reputation of his anceſtors might frequently intermix the marvellous with the probable; and when he was warmed by diſcourſe, might indulge himſelf in ſome flights of fancy, which he little thought contagious enough to infect the hiſtories of after-times. Yet ſo it has proved, ſaid the ſophiſt; conſider only the lying relations of travellers, and you will ſoon be brought to aſſert what you ſuppoſe. The fictions of theſe have paſſed, like the family traditions you ſpeak of, for truth, and are adopted into our accounts of the early ages. At preſent indeed we are aware of ſuch counterfeits; and though we hear out their tales with patience, we diſdain to receive them with credulity. No man of ſenſe converſes now-a-days with one, who has been a tedious voyage, without making ſome grains of allowance for the embelliſhments, which ſuch perſons are too apt to give to their narration. To be ſerious, it is very difficult for one, who is ſure of not being contradicted, to reſiſt a ſtrong inclination to tell wonders. Did not a traveller come back full fraught with extraordinary curioſities, his friends would laugh at him for pretending to have made the tour of foreign countries; and he

would appear at once uninformed and ridiculous. Senſible therefore, that he is permitted to enlarge and improve as he pleaſes, he thinks it becomes him to relate one ſtory after another in ſuch a manner, as each ſhall amaze you, without giving you a moment's pauſe to queſtion him upon any. Should we commend the imagination of a poet or a painter, if they made no uſe of that general licence, which is granted them, of inventing what they pleaſe, and adorning thoſe inventions with all the lively images of fancy? It is their office, you know, rather to amuſe than inſtruct; and not content with forgiveneſs for endeavouring to deceive us, they demand applauſe for deceiving ingeniouſly. In this reſpect, CTESIPHON, (interrupted I) you are in the right to be candid to the poets: but methinks no excuſe is ſufficient for the travellers. They have received indeed, as you intimate, a kind of licence for lying; but it is a privilege more allowed them from courteſy and preſcription, than from the motives of reaſon and good ſenſe. In my opinion, no quarter ſhould be given to thoſe, who by forging ſtrange things of the nations they have paſſed through, miſrepreſent one half of mankind to the other; and inſtead of eradicating the popular ſelfiſhneſs and little prejudices of their countrymen, ſerve only to confirm and encreaſe them. Such as theſe may be ſaid to ſow the ſeeds of diviſion among the inhabitants of the earth, and to baniſh the great principle of univerſal benevolence from the world. Let us return to the poets. To relate a fact with ſimplicity is not ſo peculiarly their province, as to relate it with ornament. The poetic diction muſt neceſſarily be raiſed to diſtinguiſh it from the calmneſs of proſe writings. A certain ſpirit of enthuſiaſm ought to diffuſe a complexion of ſupernatural inſpiration over their compoſitions, which would appear frantic in a plain commentary or annal. With them every ſhepherdeſs is a nymph or NAIAD; every huntreſs a DIANA; every beauty a VENUS. True, (anſwered he)

and the language of poetry would be nothing without it. How could we reliſh the Iliad or Odyſſey of our admired HOMER, without the divine machinery introduced there, and the mixture of thoſe intereſting fables, which he has wove into his poems? Do you not think the invaſion of Greece by XERXES, when he ſwept acroſs the globe with millions in his train, a more wonderful ſtory in every part of it, than the war of Troy would appear to us, when ſtript of its poetical apparel? In a word, the impatient ſon of PELEUS is obliged to HOMER for his immortality; and the fame of that ancient ſiege is more owing to the warm imagination of the poet, than to any hiſtorical accounts, that have been tranſmitted to us of it. None of theſe repreſent it in half ſo conſiderable a light. An hiſtorian would tell us ſimply, that HECTOR was a brave man: the poet informs us, he has MARS for his companion. Is ULYSSES ſhipwrecked? It is ſaid, that NEPTUNE is angry with him; and the wiſdom of the ſame hero is attributed to the inſpiration of MINERVA. Thus the Greeks, in imitation of the Phœnicians and Ægyptians, have filled their hiſtory with mythology. The ground of the fable is real, while the ornaments are feigned; and the truth of antiquity is deformed by the ignorance of the people, the artifice of the prieſts, and the genius of the poets. Painters and ſculptors have contributed not a little to ſupport the credit of fabulous ſtories; and a Satyr, or a Fawn, a Syren, or a Centaur is often indebted for its ſpurious exiſtence to an elegant ſtatue or a fine painting. And here, added I, let us not forget the theatres of Athens. They are founded upon fiction, and ſubſiſt by the reception, which it meets with. The poet feigns converſations and actions in the dramatic way. His plot is taken from ſome fable. It is ſet as it were in motion before our eyes; and if the repreſentation is performed with plauſibility, we almoſt begin to think the tale not impoſſible in reality. Beyond diſpute (continued he) the ſtage may be called the kingdom of mythology. It

reigns there protected by the ſuperſtition of the people, and is encouraged by all the arts of national profuſion. But there has not been a more plentiful ſource of fable, than the ignorance of the firſt ages in philoſophy. From thence ariſe many of their aſtronomical fables and fanciful repreſentations of the powers of nature; for curioſity leads men to enquire into the cauſes of extraordinary effects; and if the true explications are wanting, imaginary ones take their place. Each river and fountain is ſuppoſed to have a guardian deity; ÆOLUS is made ruler of the winds; IRIS or the rainbow is appointed meſſenger to the gods; the ſun and moon are worſhipped under the names of APOLLO and CYNTHIA, and eclipſes are ſaid to be owing to the loves of ENDYMION and DIANA. Thus, ſaid he, there is nothing ſo abſurd but the creating power of a poet can command it. But ſurely one may account for their allegorizing all phyſical events from the natural temper of mankind. Theſe events of themſelves being extraordinary, are a good foundation for a poetical fancy to work upon; and we are more pleaſed with a fable, that conveys a ſignificant meaning, than with one, which engages our admiration, without ſatisfying the underſtanding. In this manner the poets chooſe to blend utility with entertainment, to amuſe us with ſuch ſtories, as are raiſed upon inſtructive truths. And I believe we may conſider it as a general clue to all the intricacies of mythology, that moſt of its fables are built, either on the actions of hiſtory, or the operations of nature; on the principles of civil policy, or the maxims of morality.

Our ſophiſt was now interrupted by ſome other pupil; but as I went away from him, he told me, he would be glad of my company once more in the Lyceum, for that the ſubject of fables was by no means exhauſted.

From Athens. C.

LETTER LXXX.

CLEANDER to ORSAMES.

A few days after my former visit to the Lyceum I returned thither, and at a distance saw CTESIPHON engaged in earnest conversation with one of his followers. As soon as he perceived me, he left his disciple, and ran up to meet me. I have just been instructing a young man, said he, in the beneficent nature of the gods and the first principles of justice. I found his mind corrupted with every popular prejudice, and unhappily immersed in all the wild extravagancies of fable. He was pleased, that his follies were patronized in the character of some ancient hero, and vindicated his own vices from the example of JUPITER. It is really incredible to observe, what early havock superstition makes in the government and œconomy of human nature; and perhaps it might admit of some dispute, whether the disbelief of a providence, or the absurd romances of superstition have been most fatal to mankind. If the one disowns the existence of superior beings, the other confesses so many foolish and arbitrary tyrants: if the former gives a loose to the passions, the latter debases and enslaves the reason. Every day's experience convinces me of this truth; and I can no longer wonder at the ignorance and gross credulity of the first ages, when I meet with such unaccountable instances of both in the days of knowledge and improvement. But let us apply more closely to our subject.

The last thing we took notice of the other day was, that the poets for the most part founded their fables, not only

on ſome fact in hiſtory, or phænomenon in nature, but on the ſentiments of civil policy and the maxims of morality. For my own part, I am ſo thoroughly perſuaded of this, continued CTESIPHON, that the notion can never be wreſted from my mind by any plauſibility of wit, or force of reaſoning. When we are told, that, after the expulſion of the giants from heaven, fame ſprang from the earth as their youngeſt ſiſter, can we apply it to any thing but to the ſeditious murmurs, which uſually ſucceed an inſurrection? Or from the ſtory of CASSANDRA do we not immediately collect the fruitleſſneſs of untimely counſels? As ſhe diſdained to ſubmit herſelf to the deſires of APOLLO, the god of harmony, in like manner ſuch adviſers, too proud of their own wiſdom and dexterity, diſregard the occaſions to ſpeak and to be ſilent, the difference between vulgar and judicious ears, and the grace and gravity of diſcourſe. Thus let their judgments be ever ſo profound, they fail of their purpoſe; and rather accelerate than prevent the ruin of their friends. The thought, anſwered I, is ingenious; I may add, perhaps, refined: and to be plain with you, one cannot but obſerve, that if the prieſts and bards of antiquity, intended by each of their fables to convey ſome exquiſite inſtruction to the minds of their ſcholars, they took a great deal of pains to expreſs with obſcurity and in a large compaſs of words, what they might have delivered in fewer terms with more eaſe and perſpicuity. Beſides, you ſcarce allow, that they ever invented a fable merely for the ſake of giving play to the imagination. And ſo according to your thoughts of the matter, we muſt ſuppoſe the neceſſitous and wandering Ἀοιδοὶ of antiquity entruſted with all the arcana of religion, acquainted with the arts of princes, and to have made themſelves maſters of the ſeveral myſteries of government. The learning of the world at that time, replied CTESIPHON, lay in few hands; and the Ἀοιδοὶ, whom you ſpeak of, had certainly the largeſt ſhare of it. Their travels to the courts

of petty lords (of whom there were many in thoſe days) and to the towns, which were then in higheſt repute through Greece, furniſhed them with a more conſiderable knowledge of the manners of various nations, and their opinions in religion and politics, than any other inhabitants of the country. HOMER, you know, is reported to have converſed with LYCURGUS; and they ſay, that, in forming the Spartan ſtate, the ſevere lawgiver paid a peculiar deference to the ſentiments of the fanciful poet. With reſpect to their tales, to me it ſeems more reaſonable to imagine, that theſe Αοίδοι always conceal ſome ſubject of improvement under the maſk of fable. It was the faſhion of the Ægyptians to utter themſelves in parables and dark ſayings. The Greeks have derived the ſame cuſtoms from their teachers; and you know it has been conſtantly looked upon as part of the wiſdom of antiquity. But the invention of romance for the ſake of romance could only be an argument of folly. As to your objection to the uſe of allegory, I can in no ſort admit it. A ſoul ſo aptly prepared for inſtruction as yours, CLEANDER, would chooſe the neareſt way to it. But how few are there, alas! who have the ſame diſpoſition to receive it? A plain truth cannot offend you: were it moulded and ſoftened to your inclination, you would think it an affront to your underſtanding; and you have no ſooner marked out an error in your conduct, than you reform it. I beſeech you not to judge of the reſt of mankind by the temper of your own mind. Allegory is a proper and familiar way of bringing thoſe to reaſon, who cannot bear a down-right reproof. It ſweetens the bitter draught of inſtruction; it carries nothing that is auſtere or diſguſting along with it; and the impreſſion, which it leaves, though gently and gradually made, is nevertheleſs laſting. Allegory is the varniſh of truth; and while it takes away nothing from the ſtrength of it, adds a gloſs and beauty to it, agreeable to all, and inviting to many. I am convinced, ſaid I, CTESIPHON, by your argument; and

the encomium, which you paſſed upon my temper in the courſe of it, is the only inſtance, where your judgment can be called in queſtion. But I intreat you to go on.

Another ſource of mythology, added CTESIPHON, has been an ignorance in languages, eſpecially the Phœnician; and this I am very well aſſured of from my own knowledge of that tongue. It is natural to imagine, that the language of the colonies, which came from Phœnicia into Greece, would mix itſelf in proceſs of time with the original language of the country; and as it abounds with equivocal words and phraſes, whenever the Greeks met with them in the Phœnician hiſtories, they thought themſelves at liberty to explain them agreeably to their own humour. An example or two will ſuffice to maintain my obſervation. The word *Nahhaſeh* imports equally a keeper or a dragon. Hence the tale of the golden fleece and the garden of the Heſperides. From *Alpha* or *Ilpha*, ſignifying alike a bull or a ſhip, they framed the ſtory of EUROPA's being carried off by JUPITER transformed into a bull, inſtead of ſaying more conſiſtently with the accidents of common life, that ſhe was conveyed in a ſhip to Crete. By the aſſiſtance of languages one may trace the origin of thoſe Ægyptian and Phœnician fables, that have been deformed and varied by the Greeks, with a view to prove, that the riſe of all was among them, and that they received neither their deities nor great men from any other people. This ariſes from their national pride in pretending to be Αὐτόχθονες or *Aborigines* of the country.

The tale of EUROPA, which you have juſt mentioned, anſwered I, puts me in mind of another ſource of fable, ridiculous perhaps and whimſical, but not yet touched upon; I mean a regard for the reputation of ſeveral matrons and princeſſes of antiquity. As it was impoſſible their chaſtity ſhould ever be violated by human means, or the allurements

of the faireſt mortals, ſome god muſt have forced them to a compliance with his wiſhes; and thus the ſoft gallantries of the lover were imputed to the arbitrary injunctions of a deity.

After all, concluded the ſophiſt, we muſt look for the chief cauſe of fable in vanity, the prevailing foible of mankind. Our anceſtors, unable to follow plain nature, abſurdly endeavoured to exceed it. For deſigning to raiſe their own characters to fame, or propoſe their own lives as the patterns for imitation, they deſcribed them with all the marvels of poetry and fancy. Strange fondneſs for fiction! that could make them aſpire to a reputation of extravagance, unjuſtly called heroiſm, and ſet themſelves for an example in ſuch actions, as are above the capacity of a man. How different is the behaviour of unaffected virtue! She diſdains the gay ornaments of fiction, and borrows no luſtre but from her own intrinſic excellence. Her views are not like thoſe of the romantically ambitious, dependent on falſe glory, and the blaſt of popular applauſe. She teaches us to recommend our actions to the eſteem and admiration of poſterity, unmixed with ſuch fantaſtic falſhoods, as may be thought juſtly an allay to their merit.

C.

LETTER LXXXI.

CLEANDER to MEGABYZUS. From Athens.

THY five thouſand darics *, noble ſatrap, are ſo far from creating me a diſagreeable employment, that they give me occaſion to improve and indulge my taſte among thoſe curioſities, which thou deſiredſt me to procure, and at the ſame time are of ſervice to me in my miniſterial capacity, by introducing me to the acquaintance of many conſiderable perſons, and advancing me to a character, which the greateſt men here are fond of, that of a lover and judge of thoſe elegancies. Were my fellow-labourer CRATIPPUS to undertake ſuch a commiſſion, he would at once loſe all the intereſt his ſingular addreſs has procured him in the Lacedemonian adminiſtration; nay it were well, if he did not get himſelf expelled from that little community, where he daily ſups black broth for his maſter's ſervice, and out-does the native Spartans in bitterneſs againſt the Athenian politeneſs and Aſiatic magnificence. But here whatever tends to improve or adorn life, has its ſhare of reputation. The pencil of my countryman PARRHASIUS has obtained for him the right of citizenſhip; and PHIDIAS's ſkill in ſtatuary and architecture raiſed him ſo high in the ſtate, that he was treated like a public miniſter, and impeached before the people. But thou wilt not wonder at any marks of diſtinction ſhewn to artiſts in this city after thy adventure with ZEUXIS at Epheſus, if thou recollecteſt with how ſtately an air he received

* See Letter XXX.

thy viſit, and, amidſt all the pomp and attendance of a Perſian viceroy, how freely he reproved thy falſe criticiſms on his works *. To thoſe very reproofs is perhaps in ſome meaſure owing the admirable taſte thou now art maſter of; and which joined to that liberality, which equally diſtinguiſhes thee, will eſtabliſh a ſchool of elegance in the Eaſt, and convert our affectation of the coſtly and unnatural into a love of what is great and ſimple. My ſituation enables me to aſſiſt this noble deſign; and it is with the greateſt pleaſure, I give thee a proof of my attention to it by the following liſt of what I have collected.

The two figures of Delian braſs are of † POLYCLETUS. In one he ſhews all the ſoft beauties of a delicate youth; in the other the manly grace and the ſtrong muſcling of a body trained to arms. Thou wilt be apt in the latter to charge the ſculptor with extravagance; but the exerciſes conſtantly practiſed in Greece give a ſhape to the parts very different from that of the leſs active nations.

Moſt of the HERMÆ ‡, thou wilt obſerve, have the ſame turn of countenance. That divine ſweetneſs is not the mere idea of the artiſt; the hint is taken from ALCIBIADES §, the moſt beautiful youth in Athens. The Cupid holding a thunderbolt, which is alſo his portrait, I cannot but look

* The common ſtory of ALEXANDER and APELLES is by ÆLIAN. Var. hiſt lib. 2. cap. 2. told of MEGABYZUS and ZEUXIS.

† POLYCLETUS DIADUMENUM fecit molliter juvenem & DORYPHORUM viriliter puerum. PLIN. lib. 34. §. 19.

‡ Athenienſes illos Hermas ALCIBIADIS ad corporis ſimilitudinem fabricatos. ARNOB. adverſus gentes. lib. 6.

§ De Cupidine fulmen tenente id affirmatur, ALCIBIADEM eſſe principem formâ in ea ætate. PLIN. lib. 36. §. 4.

upon as ſomething prophetic, as a kind of expreſſion of that reputation and authority, which his charming perſon and moſt engaging behaviour are likely one day to procure him among his citizens.

It was with difficulty I got the ſea-piece of ANDROBIUS * from the family, whoſe anceſtor is the hero of it. The intrepidity and eagerneſs, which appear in the face and action of SCYLLIS, as he ſwims towards the Perſian galleys, whoſe cables he cut in the bad weather before the battle of Artemiſium, are wonderfully expreſſed. Great miniſter, let not the ſubject offend thee; we love not our country the leſs, when we admire the virtue of an enemy; and a work of art like this ſent into Aſia, whatever be the ſtory, I conſider among the ſpoils of Greece.

The victory of our troops over the † Ægyptian rebels is however a more agreeable piece. The painter to ſhew it happened upon the Nile, has introduced a crocodile ſeizing an aſs upon the bank, and inriched the landſcape with a Sphinx and a Pyramid.

Every maſter, thou wilt imagine, was ambitious to ſucceed in the repreſentation of PERICLES ‡. To help the want of proportion in his head, and yet not quite loſe ſo ſtriking a particularity, they generally covered it with an helmet. He was otherwiſe a moſt graceful figure; and

* ANDROBIUS pinxit SCYLLIN ancoras Perſicæ claſſis præcidentem. PLIN. lib. 35. §. 40.

† Cum prælium navale Ægyptiorum & Perſarum pinxiſſet, quod in Nilo, cujus aqua eſt mari ſimilis, factum volebat intelligi, argumento declaravit, quod arte non poterat; aſellum enim in littore bibentem pinxit & crocodilum inſidiantem ei. PLIN. ibid. So N. POUSSIN ſhewed, that his ſcene lay in Ægypt.

‡ PLUTARCH in PERICLE.

CTESILAUS * has done him that juſtice, that in this ſtatue every ſpectator agrees he is truly Olympian. The ruler of Athens, the arbiter of Greece, the orator, the general, the ſtateſman, all appear in his look and attitude. CTESILAUS indeed has the peculiar art of improving every charm, and adding dignity to the nobleſt ſubjects.

After ſurveying this elegant portrait, what wilt thou think of the ſame great perſon, expoſed in the ridiculous draughts of a painter in CLEON's pay, his only deformity aggravated, and every feature debaſed? Through all this thou wilt ſtill perceive a ſhocking likeneſs; and the painter ſeems as happily to have copied the abuſive deſcription of the comic poet † CRATINUS, as PHIDIAS did thoſe ‡ ſublime verſes of HOMER in the deſign of his JUPITER. Such is the licence of the pencil at Athens. But it goes higher, and burleſques even their gods in the ſtory of the birth of BACCHUS, where JUPITER appears in the dreſs and poſture of a woman in labour, with the goddeſſes, like goſſips, ſtanding round him. The enlightened adorers of MITHRAS, potent Satrap, may ſafely join in the laugh at ſuch monſtrous repreſentations. To expreſs the deity under any form we know to be abſurd and impious; but at the ſame time we muſt allow, that to this ſuperſtition of the Greeks the arts of deſign owe their perfection and their very being. The rude image of ſome god was the firſt effort of ſculpture, and the moſt curious paintings adorn the walls of the temples.

* CTESILAUS.—Olympium PERICLEM dignum cognomine. Mirumque in hac arte eſt, quod nobiles viros nobiliores fecit. PLIN. lib. 34. § 19.

† The verſes are quoted by PLUTARCH in PERICLE.

‡ Petulanti pictura innotuit, JOVE Liberum parturiente depicto mitrato, & muliebriter ingemiſcente inter obſtetricia dearum. PLIN. lib. 35. § 40.

The encomiums of the poets have made § MYRON's cow ſo famous, that I was determined to procure it for thee. It is indeed a capital piece. The braſs, thou wilt ſee, is of a different kind from that employed by ‖ POLYCLETUS; it comes from the forges of Ægina. Theſe two rivals vie even in the choice of their materials.

The lion ſurrounded by Cupids by the ſame hand ſtrikes me much more. ¶ Wouldſt thou think it poſſible for that nobleneſs of character, which diſtinguiſhes the gods and heroes of PHIDIAS, to be diſplayed in the brute creation? MYRON's lion will convince thee of it. * The boys are deſigned with ſuch ſoftneſs, and placed ſo advantageouſly (ſome tying garlands round his neck, ſome playing with his paws, or climbing up his ſides) that no groupe, however ſuperior on account of its ſubject, has been more admired.

The Genius of Athens is the work of PARRHASIUS. † By the expreſſion he has given to his figure, and the attributes, with which he accompanies it, he moſt ingeniouſly ſhews us the temper and [illegible]tate of this people. There is an

§ MYRONEM—bucula maximè nobilitavit, celebratis verſibus laudata. PLIN. lib. 34. §. 19.

‖ Æginetico ære MYRON uſus eſt, Deliaco POLYCLETUS, æquales atque condiſcipuli: æmulatio ijs in materia fuit. ibid. §. 5.

¶ Like the famous lion of RUBENS.

* Leæna, aligerique ludentes cum eâ Cupidines; quorum alij religatam tenerent, alij e cornu cogerent bibere, alij calcearent ſoccis. PLIN. lib. 36. §. 4. The boys like FIAMINGO's.

† Pinxit PARRHASIUS Δῆμον Athenienſium, argumento quoque ingenioſo; volebat namque varium, iracundum, injuſtum, inconſtantem, eundem exorabilem, clementem, miſericordem, excelſum, glorioſum, humilem, ferocem, fugacemque & omnia pariter oſtendere. PLIN. lib. 35. §. 36.

air of grandeur mixed with levity, and a fierceneſs tempered by generoſity. The owl repreſents political prudence, the caduceus eloquence, and the trident the dominion of the ſea. In general I muſt confeſs, theſe allegorical ſubjects ſeldom pleaſe me. It is difficult to find ſymbols, that exactly repreſent the idea they are intended for; and, if they are not ſuch as are authoriſed by common uſe, they perplex and tire the ſpectator, inſtead of entertaining and informing him.

I will not interrupt the pleaſure, which I flatter myſelf thou wilt receive from this account, with buſineſs of ſtate. My public diſpatches I have addreſſed to the chief ſcribe. I would ſpeak to thee on this occaſion, not as the loweſt ſlave of ARTAXERXES to the great ſupport of his throne, but as a paſſionate lover of the arts to the generous protector of them.

W.

The end of the fourth year of the Peloponneſian war.

A. M. 3577. *2d. year of the 88th Olymp.*
The fifth year of the Peloponneſian war.

LETTER LXXXII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS. From Athens.

I imagine it unneceſſary to inform the Perſian council of the invaſion of Attica by the allied army under the command of CLEOMENES, guardian to PAUSANIAS the young Spartan king; and likewiſe of the ſailing of ALCIDAS with 40 ſhips from the Peloponneſian ports to the relief of Mitylene. CRATIPPUS cannot have failed to ſend the earlieſt accounts of both theſe events directly from Sparta. It falls within my province to ſend advice of the retreat of CLEOMENES, who after adding to the deſolation of the country (if any thing ſtill remained to be laid waſte in a fifth ſucceſſive inroad) kept hovering about with a flying camp ſome time in expectation of the fleet's ſucceſs, which had been ſent to Leſbos. The allies by making theſe annual incurſions ſeem to have it in view to diſtreſs the Athenians in deſtroying their crops, and obliging the inhabitants of the villages to continue pent up within the walls of Athens; and they hope, that the inconveniencies, to which thoſe unfortunate

families are reduced, who have now for four years been deprived of their ancient habitations and the revenues of their eſtates, will produce at laſt ſome notable turn in their favour. The want of proviſions in Athens was ſo great for ſome days, that the poorer citizens begun a tumult, which might have proved of dangerous conſequence. They firſt pillaged two merchants warehouſes in the ſtreet of the Tripods, and next aſſembled in great numbers to plunder the markets; but DIOTIMUS the archon polemarch with a detachment of the garriſon diſperſed them, and took the ringleaders priſoners. Soon after the Sitonai and Agoranomoi (to whom the care of furniſhing the city with corn and inſpection of the markets are committed) brought in ſupplies from Eubœa and the coaſt of Aſia Minor, and the public tranquillity was entirely reſtored. The news arrived lately from Leſbos has entirely changed the ſcene. • The complaints of the miſeries and expences of war are ſucceeded by the joyful acclamations of victory, and the pleaſing ideas of revenge over their revolted tributaries. Every man entertains his friends, decks his houſe with laurel, puts on his white robe, and pays his oblations at the ſhrine of his tutelar deity. The porticos of the temples are adorned with arms, and the priſons filled with captives. Yeſterday was kept as a ſolemn feſtival, and the Prytanes and Archons aſſiſted at a thankſgiving-ſacrifice to JUPITER in the name of the republic. Thou wilt judge, noble ſcribe, what occaſion there is for theſe rejoicings, when I tell thee Mitylene is ſurrendered. The inhabitants reduced to great neceſſity through a ſcarcity of proviſions, and deſpairing of ſuccours from their allies, raiſed a ſudden commotion, obliged the rich to diſtribute corn to the poor, and refuſed to obey further orders from their magiſtrates towards the defence of the town. The latter ſeeing all authority loſt in

the diſorders of the enraged populace, and apprehending, that the next ſtep they took would be to come to an agreement with the Athenians, from whence themſelves might be excluded, ſent out deputies of their own to PACHES, who commanded the ſiege; and that general admitted them to capitulate on theſe conditions; 1. That the city ſhould be immediately ſurrendered to the troops of the republic, and quarters provided for them during their ſtay in the iſland. 2. That the Athenians ſhould be at liberty to determine concerning the puniſhment of the Mitylenians in what manner they pleaſed. 3. That PACHES ſhould neither put to death, impriſon, nor encloſe any citizen of Mitylene till the pleaſure of his ſtate was known. Theſe terms were ſtrictly obſerved. PACHES has ſent back to Athens a part of his ſquadron, with a relation of the poſture of affairs in Leſbos, and SALÆTHUS an agent of Lacedemon, and the principal authors of the revolt, priſoners. Along with them likewiſe is arrived a deputation of the magiſtrates of Mitylene, who come to implore the mitigation of the puniſhment intended to be inflicted on them for their revolt. I much doubt, whether they will ſucceed in their errand. The people in general ſeem inclined by a rigorous ſentence to deter the reſt of their allies from the leaſt thought of ſhaking off their dependance. No news is yet arrived of the Peloponneſian ſhips; ſeveral are uneaſy, leſt they ſhould ſurprize the army and fleet at Mitylene, who are probably enjoying that ſecurity, which accompanies ſucceſs.

If I can collect any thing from what NICANDER has communicated to thee of the views of his ſtate in ſeeking an alliance with Perſia, it is, that they are unwilling to be reproached by the reſt of Greece with having brought in Barbarians to decide the quarrel, which makes them not very forward to ſmooth the openings to a negotiation. At

the ſame time they are inclined to keep on fair terms with the Great King, that they may be able to puſh on an alliance with him more briſkly, when any remarkable ſtroke of ill fortune befalls them. I would offer it to thy conſideration, whether it would not be adviſeable for the Perſian miniſtry, in return, to ſhew an abſolute averſeneſs to comply with their extravagant propoſals, and diſcover ſome inclinations of joining with the Athenians. I am perſuaded, it would ſoften their ſtiffneſs and diſdainful pride, when they ſee a weight like that of Perſia ready to be thrown into the oppoſite ſcale. I am encouraged to uſe this freedom, illuſtrious miniſter, from the generous confidence, with which thou honoureſt me in thy diſpatches; a confidence, which more than repays the value of my ſervices, and even makes the danger, to which my ſtation expoſes me, diſappear. It rejoices me to be aſſured from thy authority, that the deteſtable practices of SACAS were founded rather on the chimerical hopes of a forward traitor, and ſome ſpeeches thrown out by malecontents, than any formed plan of the great Satraps of Media, or the general diſcontent of that province. There is a merchant of Samos at Suſa, by name PYTHON, a notable man, whom the Athenians employ as a ſpy upon the ſublime court. I ſaw one of his letters in the hands of a ſenator of my acquaintance, which relates to an inſtruction he had received from the ſenate to diſcover the progreſs of the Lacedemonian negotiation, and found the temper of the miniſters with regard to an embaſſy from hence. PYTHON writes word, that "no one could perſonally be more diſagreeable to the Per-"ſian court, than the reſident NICANDER; and if ſome "Athenians of addreſs and politeneſs, enabled by large "appointments to entertain magnificently, and conform to "the manners of the Eaſt, were ſent thither, before the "Lacedemonian repreſentations had made any impreſſion,

" they need not to doubt of ſucceſs in whatever they under-
" took."

The Athenians are juſt deprived of their beſt admiral by the death of PHORMIO; he was an officer of long experience and deſerved reputation, having diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the war againſt the Samians, and commanded with great bravery and ſkill at the ſiege of Potidæa, and the two naval fights off Naupactus, of which thou wilt find a relation in my diſpatches of the third year. His plain frugal way of living was extremely well ſuited to the ſimplicity of the firſt ages of the republic, and is now almoſt become a proverb. His loſs is much regretted by the ſailors, for though he kept up a ſtrict diſcipline, he behaved towards them with great humanity, and reſembled them in the honeſt roughneſs of his manners.

I was juſt upon the point of cloſing up theſe letters under the cover of HIPPIAS, when DIODOTUS one of the Prytanes, a leading man here, made me a viſit, and informed me, amongſt other particulars, that a light frigate was juſt arrived, which brought letters from PACHES, importing that two ſhips of his ſquadron, the Paralus and Salamis, being out on a cruize, had diſcovered ALCIDAS's ſquadron lying off the iſland Claros. As ſoon as he received this intelligence, he ſailed from Mitylene; and though he purſued them as far as Latmos, he could not come up with them. He had intercepted letters from TEUTIPALUS admiral of Elis to this effect, that " whilſt they were on their " voyage to Leſbos, they heard of the ſurrender of Mity-
" lene. Upon this a council of war was called, in which
" ALCIDAS declared himſelf for a retreat, contrary to his
" opinion and that of other officers, who propoſed to land
" the troops by night, and attack the Athenians, before
" they were ſettled in their quarters."

Forget not, potent Satrap, to lay me at the feet of the mighty ARTAXERXES, the ſhadow of the divine OROMASDES on earth.

P.

LETTER LXXXIII.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

THE hideous noiſes of the people, which prevailed lately for ſeveral days in this city, on account of the orgies and ceremonies performed at the Dionyſia, have left ſuch an impreſſion upon my mind, as is not to be effaced by any tranquillity I enjoy at preſent. I own to thee, HYDASPES, I am ſo ſhocked with what I have ſeen and heard, that I can no longer think I dwell with the polite Athenians. It is with difficulty I can refrain from imagining myſelf tranſported into a tribe of barbarous Scythians, where the wildeſt frenzy and licentiouſneſs have triumphed over all the dictates of common modeſty. Thus enthuſiaſm gets the better of our reaſon; and they, who attend to the falſe principles of the Greek ſuperſtitions, forget to behave with the ſame decency and good ſenſe in the buſineſs of religion, which influence them in the ordinary concernments of life. The entertainments, which pleaſe me moſt, are the public ſpectacles of the theatre; and thou mayſt imagine I have not been ſo incurious an obſerver of what paſſes round me, as to neglect being preſent at every repreſentation of this kind. Theſe are chiefly exhibited on their greateſt feſtivals; I mean thoſe of BACCHUS and MINERVA; and are celebrated with as much gaiety and ſplendor in the midſt of a tedious and expenſive war, as in the moſt diſſolute

times of peace and luxurious plenty. For the genius of this people is equally turned to matters of diverſion and amuſement, as to the humane and military arts; and not a holiday in their calendar is unattended with martial exerciſes in memory of ſome hero, or a ſacred proceſſion in honour of ſome deity.

The Athenian theatre is built in a ſemi-circular form on one ſide, and ſquare-wiſe on the other. The ſpace compriſed within the former is allotted to the ſpectators, and contains many ſeats, which ariſe gradually to the top of it. The ſquare part in the front belongs to the actors, and in the interval between both lies the orcheſtra. The ſemi-circle has three rows of pillars raiſed one upon another, which form the body of the edifice in three different ſtories. From the higheſt of theſe the women ſee the repreſentation, protected from the inclemencies of the weather. As the actor can ſcarce be heard to the extremity of the theatre without aſſiſtance, the Athenians have contrived an ingenious method of ſupplying that defect; they have placed huge vaſes of braſs under the ſeats, which being toned to all the different modulations of the human voice, convey the ſounds more ſtrongly and diſtinctly to the ear of the auditor. The orcheſtra, particularly ſo called, is appropriated to the dancers and pantomimes, who play between the acts, and at the end of divers repreſentations. On the one ſide ſtand the chorus; on the other the band of muſic. The ſcenes occupy the whole front of the building from ſide to ſide; and when they are changed, ſhew occaſionally to the ſpectators, either a private apartment or the forum, the city or the country. As only the porticos are roofed, it is neceſſary to draw ſail cloths faſtned with cords to maſts over the reſt of the theatre, to defend the ſpectators from the heat of the ſun. But as this cannot prevent the warmth occaſioned by the breath and perſpiration of ſuch vaſt

numbers, as are uſually preſent at theſe entertainments, they take care to allay it by perfumed waters, conveyed for that purpoſe above the porticos, which falling again through an infinity of ſmall pipes concealed in the ſtatues, with which the theatre abounds, diffuſe not only an agreeable coolneſs all round, but the moſt fragrant ſcents. I remember I was laſt year preſent in the theatre to ſee one of the tragedies of EURIPIDES, when on a ſudden we were diſturbed by a violent ſtorm of thunder and lightning, which immediately obliged all the ſpectators, in great confuſion, to retire for ſome time within the porticos behind the ſeats of the theatre. It was indeed one of the moſt miſerable hours I have paſſed ſince my arrival here, becauſe of the diſorder, which muſt neceſſarily attend ſo great a crowd; but I was amply rewarded for my ſufferings by the excellent performance that ſucceeded it. The laſt play I ſaw was the Acharnenſes of ARISTOPHANES. It was exhibited a few days ſince, and is the ſecond comedy that riſing poet has produced. The judges pronounced in favour of it againſt ſeveral others, which were preſented to them; and the prize was beſtowed on him with honour. On the morning before the repreſentation, PHILEMON and I were walking together in the forum, and ſaw many of the citizens going up to the citadel, to receive their oboli (according to PERICLES's law) for frequenting the theatre. My patron took notice to me of it, and told me, that he had vehemently oppoſed that law, when it was offered, and therefore diſdained accepting the penſion which it gave him a right to demand. In the afternoon I had the good fortune to accompany him to the play. We ſat almoſt in the centre of the theatre, and were not only well ſituated for a view of the ſpectacle, but had at the ſame time an opportunity of ſurveying an audience of 30,000 people, without offence or interruption. Soon after we entered, the muſic joined in one of the moſt pleaſing concerts I have ever heard, compoſed by the union

of the Doric harp with the Phrygian flute; and my good friend looked round him with that air of complacency and ſatisfaction which the ſight of a numerous and chearful company is apt to raiſe in a mind always exerting its humanity. As thou haſt never received any letters from me relating to the Athenian theatre, or their manner of acting, I ſhall mention to thee in this its moſt ſtriking peculiarities. The firſt remarkable thing which occurs, is, that the actors are all maſked; for they ſay, the expreſſion of the countenance would be loſt at the further end of the theatre, without ſome invention of that ſort. In comedy it has a further uſe, in exhibiting caricatura's of ſuch perſons on the ſtage, as the poet has an intention of ſetting in a ridiculous or ſcandalous light. I obſerved a man placed with a pitch-pipe in his hand behind one of the ſide ſcenes, which played a note in the right key, whenever it was proper for the actors to give a different modulation to their voices; and I ſaw another ſtationed near him with an iron plate at the bottom of his foot, which he ſtruck upon the ground at ſtated intervals, to guide them in the well-timing of their action; as if the words and ſentiment would not almoſt of courſe lead an underſtanding player into the geſture and tone of voice, which may be requiſite to expreſs both.

For my own part, I am amazed how the national delicacy of Athens can endure ſo many glaring contradictions to nature; but though I have converſed with the moſt judicious among them on this head, I find the irreſiſtable force of prejudice and cuſtom has got the better of all ſenſe of propriety and decorum. Nor was I more pleaſed with the comedy than with the action. The plan of it was wholly factious, and deſigned to intimate the ſuperior excellence of peace above war. It repreſented an inhabitant of a little town in Attica much diſtreſſed by the loſſes he had undergone in the Peloponneſian campaigns, and unable to bear

them any longer. The poet introduced this man making a private excluſive agreement with the Lacedemonian army, and enjoying the fruits of peace, while the Acharnians, Megarians, and Athenians, endure all the painful hardſhips and ſervices of war. He inſinuated, that the people are amuſed either by the threats or promiſes of the ſenate, and the ambition of CLEON and LAMACHUS their generals, who advance their particular intereſt by prolonging the common calamity. In ſhort, neither the ſtate, nor its officers, nay, not even the honoured memory of PERICLES, was treated with mercy in this one play. In the very firſt act of it he ridiculed the aſſembly of Athens and the embaſſadors ſent abroad by their countrymen, by ſuppoſing ſome of the latter to give a ſenſeleſs account to the former of a trifling negotiation with the Great King. In the ſecond act, he reflected on CLEON's character with peculiar ſeverity for the proſecution commenced againſt him laſt year, "as "one, who expoſed the commonwealth to the deriſion of "ſtrangers." And the chorus pronounced a vaunting panegyric on ARISTOPHANES's qualities, as "an excellent "cenſor of manners, and counſellor of the ſtate; as one "who deſerved highly of the Athenians, and had been much "enquired after by the Perſian monarch." This fulſome ſtrain was received with a thunder of applauſe, and accompanied with a new dance of ARISTOPHANES's invention. The whole piece was interſperſed with ſeveral parodies on EURIPIDES, and an infinite number of alluſions to the public tranſactions.

When the play was over, I could not help diſcovering my ſurprize to PHILEMON, as we walked home together, at the general approbation given by the audience to ſuch unjuſt and indecent ſcurrility. Surely, ſaid I, the performances of our comic poets are as ſo many ſeditious fire-brands thrown by public authority among the people to inflame

them. Their wit is like the moſt dangerous and deadly poiſon, ſufficient to corrupt the minds of the vulgar againſt thoſe, who preſide over the arms and counſels of the ſtate. Are ye not apprehenſive, that contempt will one day beget hatred, and hatred will break out into violence and rebellion? Methinks while the citizens in the adminiſtration have the management of the ſtage, it ſhould ſeem natural for them to mould its politics according to their own ſchemes, and make it ſpeak in their favour to the people. That would never be ſuffered, anſwered he; you know in Athens we conſider the ſtage, as a centinel poſted by our conſtitution to warn the republic of approaching perils. We are afraid of intruſting the leaſt degree of power with the beſt of our citizens, and whenever we are brought to that neceſſity, we have a thouſand arts of watching over them; of putting them out of conceit with their greatneſs, leſt they ſhould grow too fond of it; and of ſetting them on their guard in actions of the minuteſt conſequence. How does it beat down the little pride of miniſters, to reflect, that all their meaſures are canvaſſed by a comic poet; and that their foibles are expoſed licentiouſly to the public view, while the ridicule is reliſhed and applauded by their countrymen? But, ſaid I, are not their meaſures enough cenſured or commended in the proper places of debating, in the aſſemblies of the people? Is it not ſufficient, that they are examined by the art of your orators, without being humourouſly abuſed by your poets and play-writers? Beſides, it is dangerous to regard ridicule as the criterion of truth, for it preſents us commonly with partial and unfair repreſentations of it. By throwing falſe colours over the dictates of wiſdom, we may give them the appearance of folly; and I take ARISTOPHANES to be more concerned for the ſucceſs of a witticiſm, than the welfare of the public; a buffoon, who could be ſcarce grave upon the ruin of his country.

PHILEMON was going to reply, and I would have talked with him more upon the ſubject, but he was unfortunately called off by ſome of his acquaintance. Forgive me then, if I vent my aſtoniſhment to thee. Is it not ſtrange, my noble friend, that the public Archons ſhould authoriſe theſe ſatires on the public officers and meaſures of the ſtate? Or that thoſe, who are intended by the conſtitution to reſtrain, ſhould yet be the legal encouragers of licentiouſneſs? Is it not impious, that in the very act of devotion to a deity, they ſhould dare to laugh at, and expreſs their contempt for that deity? Is it not impolitic, that the civil magiſtrate ſhould not only be acceſſary to a libel on his methods of exerciſing the civil authority, but even ſtrike by this means at religion, the ſupport and foundation of that authority? Is it not more than abſurd, that every private citizen ſhould be paid out of the public funds, for going, where an affection for new diverſions would of courſe invite him, and that the revenue ſhould be thus idly waſted, in the midſt of a war, and to the diſappointment of the public ſervice? Was it not inconſiſtent with the character of a wiſe man, to propoſe the law which enacted this extravagance, and at once eſtabliſh it beyond the power of a repeal? Perhaps it would not have amazed one, if PERICLES had given money to the people, to prevent them from frequenting a place, where his own character was ſo infamouſly reviled. But was it not ridiculous to take pains in quickening their appetite for ſcandal? And did he not act unbecoming the greatneſs of his temper, in ſtooping to ſuch a dirty and fatal art of popularity? Is it not incredible, that the repreſentation of a few tragedies ſhould have coſt more money to this city, than the naval armaments of all Greece, in defence of its freedom againſt XERXES? Or that the Athenian republic ſhould be unanimouſly profuſe in improving thoſe pleaſures, which may contribute hereafter to deſtroy it, like the wretch who decorates the funeral pile, on which he is one day to be burnt? How inconſiſtent is the

lawleſs democracy of Athens! while the government under which thou liveſt, potent ſatrap, is more ſteady in its movements, more jealous of its power, and more tender of the regard that is ſhewn to it. Were ſuch a fellow as ARISTOPHANES to publiſh his comedies in Perſia, with a view to ridicule the actions of ſo great a miniſter as MEGABYZUS; a fellow, who can expoſe an honeſt, and diſconcert a wiſe meaſure, who can recommend a weak one, and ſanctify a baſe one; by the holy fire of the magi, our monarch would put him to the ſevereſt torments his royal vengeance could inflict, and doom him to the lingering death of malefactors in the Aſh-tower * at Ecbatana.

C.

* An high tower being filled a great way from the bottom with aſhes, the criminal was thrown head-long from the top of it into them, where by means of a wheel they were raiſed about him, till he was ſuffocated. See VALER. MAX. L. IX. c. 2. Exter. § 6. 2 Maccab. c. xiii. Note by the tranſlator.

LETTER LXXXIV.

HIPPIAS to CLEANDER.

WHEN I can find leiſure from my employment as a merchant, I often turn my thoughts to literary ſpeculations, or engage with my acquaintance in political debates. It is at theſe times I indulge my imagination in laying out new plans for regulating the government of Perſia; and I can ſcarce forbear ſmiling at myſelf, when I reflect, how excellently I ſhould behave as a miniſter of ſtate, if my power of doing good were but equal to my will. Had I been with you at the time of conferring * with your Athenian friend, I ſhould have entered more largely into the argument than you did, and not have ſoftened ſo much what was ſaid concerning the Grecian conſtitution. Indeed I cannot blame the diſcretion, which you uſed in your preſent circumſtances. But you have allowed more weight to his reaſoning in the cloſe of your account of it, than I can by any means perceive in it. And though, according to your letter, the man expreſſed himſelf with fluency and vivacity on the ſubject, yet methinks it was rather glittering in the words, than ſtrong in the ſenſe. I confeſs to thee, CLEANDER, after much deliberation, I am willing to impute the failure of XERXES's expedition, not to the valour of that divided people, among whom thou reſideſt, but to the raſh counſellors, who approved the deſign of that extraordinary invaſion, and to the meaſures which directed it. Thou wilt perceive, I have endeavoured to ſpeak impartially to this

* See Letter LV.

point; thou knoweſt my relation to Greece, by my extraction from that country; thou knoweſt my relation to Perſia, from the happineſs I enjoy under the influence and protection of the Great King. I am not however ſo prejudiced in favour of the one, as to give the merit of its ſucceſs to bravery and good conduct alone; nor ſo blind to the miſtakes of the other, as either to conceal its diſgrace, or palliate its ill management.

The chief thing which XERXES wanted, was a true judgment. Preſuming on his own deſerts, he was unfit to give or to receive good advice. Puffed up by the nauſeous breath of flattery, his miniſters knew the art of inſinuating, without even the appearance of ſuggeſting; and the conſequence of this proved, that no man was ever more amuſed, managed, and betrayed, than he, who fancied himſelf protected from all of them by his ſuperior underſtanding. His headſtrong temper led him into the wildeſt and moſt unnatural projects, while he fondly believed the power of the Perſian empire was ſufficient to ſupport them. He entertained high notions of the regal dignity; and his ambition prompted him to unite the world in an univerſal monarchy. At the ſame time, he was not ſenſible of his own want of courage and addreſs to execute the ſcheme. And indeed I have often thought it wonderfully gracious in providence, that it did not impart a very conſiderable ſhare of either to one, who was ſo deſirous to become the deſtroyer of mankind. As ſoon as he had declared, that his enterprizing views were all levelled at the Grecians, he fitted out ſuch a fleet, as no harbour could receive; and raiſed ſuch an army as could be drawn up on no plain in Europe or in Aſia. So unweildy a body of forces was an idle ſpectacle, not a formidable ſtrength; nor could he, as he vainly imagined, be advantaged by theſe numbers, ſince they would ſerve equally to incommode a retreat, or to prevent a victory. He ordered a cut to be made through

mount Athos, as an inſtance of his greatneſs, and to perpetuate his name to poſterity; for his fleet might have coaſted round the Peninſula, or have been conveyed over the land with leſs difficulty. How ridiculous was his deſign of a bridge acroſs the Helleſpont! How impertinent were his expreſſions of fury, when he found the waves, the winds, and the ſeaſons were not under his controul! After much time loſt in theſe vaſt and ſenſeleſs preparations, he ſwept like a mighty torrent over the nations of the earth. When he came to Abydos, he ſent meſſengers to all the Greeks demanding earth and water, except to the Athenians and the Spartans. He knew how roughly they had uſed his father's heralds on a former occaſion, and he conjectured how they would uſe his on this. A great multitude ſubmitted to his embaſſadors, embraced his offers, and increaſed his army. After he had paſſed the Helleſpont, and advanced through Theſſaly, he arrived at Thermopylæ. There it was the Greeks ſhould have drawn down their forces; thoſe ſtreights ſhould have been conſidered as the barrier of their country. But ſome were afraid of the Perſian, and therefore willing to join with him; others ſhewed themſelves fooliſhly ſanguine for precedency, and choſe to ſacrifice their intereſt to form; many wavered in their opinion, ſtood debating on their meaſures, and delayed in their aſſiſtance. He found three hundred Spartans with LEONIDAS at their head to oppoſe him. He engaged them; and 'tis true they behaved with a bravery exceeding the bounds of probability, and almoſt too extravagant for romance. It is ſaid, the king placed himſelf on an eminence to ſurvey the battle. It is added, that he was even alarmed at what he ſaw; and had the Greeks been united at that time, I ſhall own they might have defeated his forces in the ſtreights. Then XERXES would have deſerted his throne with anxiety for his perſonal

ſafety, inſtead of leaping from it thrice in a ſudden conſternation.

One ſtep he might have taken, which would have opened his way eaſily through the ſtreights, and forwarded his conqueſt. He ſuffered his fleet to lie expoſed to ſtorms along the coaſt of Magneſia, and it was nothing more than an uſeleſs incumbrance on the ocean; whereas he ought to have employed it in ravaging the coaſts, in burning the ports of Peloponneſus, in making deſcents upon their country, in creating a diverſion of their ſtrength; and thus he would have fatigued, harraſſed, and exhauſted the Greeks. But he had a wrong method of making the fleet act in concert with the land forces, (as he conſtantly called it) by which he only meant to keep it always in ſight, and that it ſhould do him no other ſervice than accompany his motions, and ſail cloſe by the ſhore, while he traverſed the land. Whether he did this, that it might be in his power to fly in caſe of a total defeat, it may be hard to determine. However no meaſure could be more abſurd, more unlike one of a reaching head, or a general of prudence and activity. He had many opportunities of ſending a ſquadron of ſhips (according to the council of DEMARATUS) to the iſland of Cythera, which is oppoſite to Lacedemon, from whence he might have annoyed and diſtreſſed it; but he improved none, and neglected them all. Inſtead of bending every accident to fixed and rational purpoſes, he ſuffered thoſe accidents perpetually to ſhift and vary the unſettled and irregular ſchemes of his policy; and the whole expedition ſerves to convince us of this, that far from contriving with phlegm, or performing with ſpirit, he determined with precipitation and warmth, and acted with cowardice and weakneſs.

The paſſage at Thermopylæ was now clear before him: he marched through Phocis, and when he had rifled the

temple at Delphi, encamped in Bœotia. In the mean time, his fleet after a violent ſtorm, in which it was much ſhattered, made an aukward and unſucceſsful attempt to ſurprize the Grecian ſhips, as they lay in the road of Eubœa; for not keeping the deſign ſecret, it got air, and came to the knowledge of THEMISTOCLES, who adviſed the Greeks to leave their ſtation in the night; and ſo by a counter ſurprize they ſtranded and ſunk ſeveral of the Perſian gallies. The reſt were forced to ſea, where they were deſtroyed by ſtreſs of weather. The next day the Perſians engaged with them at Artemiſium; and although the Grecians thought it right to retire, yet the conflict was ſuſtained with equal loſs on both ſides. Whereupon the former contented themſelves with invading Eubœa, inſtead of puſhing their main point on the continent of Greece, and the latter refitted with diligence in the ſtreights of Salamis. By this time XERXES was occupied in waſting Attica; and having put to the ſword a few old men in the citadel, who had miſtaken the ſenſe of the oracle concerning the wooden walls, he demoliſhed the temples, and lorded it over the empty houſes in Athens. The citizens looked for this event, and wiſely withdrew their women and effects into the neighbouring iſlands, while every man, who was able to bear arms, embarked in ſome ſhip. Here was XERXES's grand error, and the origin of all his loſſes. It was his want of ſagacity, and neglect of the advice of ARTEMISIA, which cauſed him to fight under ſo many diſadvantages at Salamis; and it was fear, which prevented his marching to the Iſthmus. He never dared to advance into the Peloponneſus, though if he had done it at firſt without delay, he muſt have found very feeble oppoſition. He was terrified with the apprehenſion of meeting the eight thouſand Lacedemonians, who, as the royal exile, their countryman, informed him, were like the three hundred at Thermopylæ. Even after the victory at Salamis, he

might with proper management have defeated the Grecians; but tired with his journey, and diſpirited with ill ſucceſs, he fled back diſhonourably on his way to Perſia. He ſuffered a conſiderable part of his army to periſh by peſtilence and famine; that army, the thought of whoſe natural mortality drew tears from the tyrant, but the thought of whoſe unnatural one, occaſioned by himſelf, ſcarce touched his ſoul with remorſe. Inſolent, when he fondly expected proſperity, he was dejected when he felt the weight of bad fortune; unable to ſteer his courſe through the difficulties that ſurrounded him, every tide drew him along with it; every gale of wind carried him before it; continually toſſed about, he lived from day to day, ſubject to the hourly caprice of his temper, and at the mercy of every precarious event.

The imprudent, proud, and deſponding king ſat down to repoſe himſelf at Sardis; ſollicitous for the fate of thoſe numerous forces, which he had entruſted to MARDONIUS. His more imprudent, prouder, and confident miniſter, promiſed boldly he would ſubdue all Greece; if he failed in performing it, he preſumptuouſly declared, he would take ſhame to himſelf, without any reflection on the honour of his maſter. XERXES ſatisfied himſelf with the rant and vanity of a madman; he fooliſhly thought the ruin of MARDONIUS would caſt no cloud over his own reputation; and reaſoned as fooliſhly to himſelf that he might retrieve his credit, if the meaſures purſued by this giddy officer were attended with ſucceſs. He ſtill hoped, notwithſtanding his diſaſters, if not by his own valour or his own merit, yet by the valour and merit of MARDONIUS, to enter SUSA in a triumphal chariot, and crowned with the wreaths of a conqueror; for though he was deſirous to be far from the danger he was eager to take a ſhare in the glory.

But here his reaſonings were falſe; his ſchemes were defeated. MARDONIUS wintered in Theſſaly, marched forward to Attica in the ſpring, and ſat down idly in Athens with his army. How ridiculous and incredible was a conduct like this? He made offers of accommodation to the Athenians, who, he knew, would refuſe them. He entertained however ſome groundleſs expectations, that they would one day accept them. But inſtead of waiting till they ſubmitted to his clemency, he ought immediately to have repaired XERXES's errors, which he had now a very fair opportunity of doing. He ſhould have fomented the diviſion; he ſhould have improved the coolneſs between Athens and Lacedemon; he ſhould have penetrated into the heart of the Peloponneſus before the wall at the Iſthmus was finiſhed, and ſpread deſolation where he went. He might at leaſt have prevented the Spartan ſuccours from joining the Athenians at Eleuſis. In this juncture what did MARDONIUS? A few hours after he received notice of it, he retired baſely into the champain plains of Bœotia. Thus he forfeited his honour; betrayed the intereſts of his prince; and at Platæa his army fell a ſacrifice to their general's temerity and unſkilfulneſs. He ſeems to me in that battle to have thrown away his life with the ſame wantonneſs, wherewith he always conducted it; and whoever reads the hiſtory of this expedition, as it is excellently told by HERODOTUS, will find, that after his death the reliques of his ſcattered forces died wretchedly of hunger, ſickneſs, and diſtreſs. In ſhort a complication of miſeries will preſent themſelves to him in all their horrors. The Greeks, elated by this ſingular deliverance, fought at Mycale with vigour and with ſpirit. The Perſians indeed behaved with bravery, but were diſcouraged by theſe ſad calamities. XERXES left Sardis in haſte, returned to Suſa in deſpair, and ſmarted to his laſt hour for the follies of ambition.

I have now laid before you, CLEANDER, the ſeveral faults committed in this ſtrange and cruel expedition. Though the king had ſo many repeated opportunities of overcoming the Greeks; though every ſucceeding opportunity made amends for the loſs of the foregoing; yet they were given up to the ignorance and timidity of himſelf and thoſe about him. It would be to ſuppoſe his enemies were more than men, if one could poſſibly imagine, that powerfully aſſaulted without, and expoſed to ſedition and treachery within, they ſhould be able to defeat his millions, by the mere efforts of valour, without receiving particular aſſiſtance from his groſs and frequent miſtakes. Thus ended the invaſion of Greece, unjuſtifiable in its intentions, extravagant in its plan, ill managed in its progreſs, and fatal in its conſequences.

From Epheſus. C.

LETTER LXXXV.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER. From Memphis.

SOON after my laſt letter to thee from Heliopolis, I departed for Memphis in that delightful ſeaſon, which ſucceeds the inundation. For at that time, when winter begins in other countries, Ægypt enjoys a return of ſpring; the trees bloſſom, the earth is decked with a freſher verdure, the meadows are enamelled with flowers, and the air is purer and more ſerene. In the month of March * is held a ſolemn feſtival to ISIS. As the goddeſs repreſents univerſal nature, and preſides over every element, they dedicate to her a ſhip in theſe ſolemnities, intreating her to be propitious to navigation. The proceſſion begun with a company of women crowned with garlands, and apparelled in white, ſome ſtrewing the way with flowers, others ſprinkling it with perfumes and balſams. The emblems they carry much reſemble the furniture of a lady's toilet; and ſeveral I obſerved to hold behind them bright poliſhed ſpeculums, as it were in compliment to the goddeſs to reflect her image. Theſe were ſucceeded by a great number of both ſexes with torches and waxen tapers, in honour to the ſidereal deities; while a ſymphony of flutes and other inſtruments accompanied the voices of a ſelect chorus of young people. Then followed a mixt multitude of the initiated both men and women of different ranks and ages, habited in white raiments, and making a ſhrill noiſe upon brazen, ſilver, and golden ſiſtrums.

* APUL. METAM. L. VI.

The women had a looſe head-dreſs over their moiſtened hair; the men had their heads ſhaven. After theſe came ſeveral perſons of the moſt diſtinguiſhed orders in the prieſthood. One carried a burning lamp in a golden boat; another, whom I took to be the ſacred ſcribe, held in one hand the Caduceus of MERCURY, and had alſo a palm-branch with foliage of gold. The next was known by the rod of juſtice, and the golden patera, out of which he poured a milk-libation. Another attendant upon the prophet in this proceſſion carried a golden trough loaded with golden branches. The prophet himſelf came next, and after him was brought a monſtrous Anubis repreſenting HERMES. Then upon the ſhoulders of the paſtophori a molten heifer, the ſymbol of the great goddeſs; as alſo the myſtical image of that deity, which to me, who am no initiate, appeared no more than an urn with a round cavity in the middle, the mouth of it running out into a long ſpout, the outſide curiouſly emboſſed with Ægyptian figures, and an aſp ſitting upon the handle with its body entwined, but the neck ſwelling and erect. The cheſt likewiſe was carried, that contains the hidden myſteries. When all their proceſſion, amidſt the acclamation of thoſe who bore a part in it, was come up, and had ranged itſelf upon the banks of the Nile, the prophet advanced forward to the ſhip; and having repeated a ſolemn form of words, with a lighted torch, an egg, and ſulphur, he performed the rites of purification, and named and dedicated it to the goddeſs ISIS. The veſſel was of citron-wood curiouſly poliſhed, the ſtern covered with plates of gold, and upon the canvas written the vows of the people for a proſperous navigation. As ſoon as the rites of purification were over, the yards being hoiſted, and the ſails unfurled, inſtantly all the people preſent diſcharge upon it their troughs loaden with aromatic gums, and pour a libation into the water. Then the cables are looſened, and the ſhip with a gentle gale rides down the Nile. The pro-

ceſſion returns in the ſame order to the temple of Isis, where prayers are offered by the ſacred ſcribe for the preſervation of the Perſian empire, for the proſperity of Ægypt, and ſucceſs that year to all the ſeafaring-tribe. The people preſent ſtrew bay leaves, vervain, and other ſweet herbs before the ſhrine of the goddeſs; and with that the aſſembly is diſmiſſed. This ceremony took its riſe from the times of Sesostris after a famous naval expedition, when he ravaged the coaſts of the Red Sea. * For he commanded a ſhip to be built of cedar 280 cubits in length, covered with gold on the outſide, and with ſilver within; and this he dedicated to the ſovereign deities of Ægypt. † In the temple of Vulcan are ſhewn the ſtatues of this king, his wife, and ſons, which he placed there in memory of a ſignal deliverance from the treachery of his brother, who ſet fire in the night time to his pavilion, as he lay at Peluſium in his return from his great victories. ‡ That magnificent temple, according to tradition, was begun by Menes the founder of this city; but thoſe ancient ſtructures, we may believe, were no more than the firſt rude eſſays of architecture, in which little regard was had to ſymmetry and proportion. § Tosorthrus, the next ſucceeding king, an aſſociate of Mercury, inſtructed the Memphites in the art of maſonry, and taught them to ſquare and poliſh the ſtones, which they uſed in their buildings. ‖ Rampsinitus, a ſon or deſcendant of Sesostris, built the weſtern portico of Vulcan's temple, and placed two coloſſus's of five and twenty cubits in height before the entrance, one facing the North, another the South; the former the Ægyptians call Summer, and pay

* Diod. Sic. L. I. c. 4.
† Ibid. & Herod. Euterp. I. c. 107, 110.
‡ Herod. Euterp. c. 99.
§ Syncellus.
‖ Herod. Euterp. c. 121.

great adorations to it, but none to the latter, which they call Winter. PSAMMETICHUS afterwards added a portico to the weſtern gate, and encompaſſed the temple with a wall, ſupporting it with coloſſus's of twelve feet high inſtead of pillars. * In the temple of OSIRIS is the ſtall of the ox Apis, who is often conſulted as a chief oracle, and his manner of returning anſwers is by receiving or rejecting what is offered him, which are accordingly interpreted lucky or unlucky. † The Nile runs on the Eaſt ſide of Memphis; to the North and Weſt a great lake ſurrounds it; for an hundred ſtadia ſouthward reaches an artificial bank, where anciently lay the channel of the Nile. This great work of turning the river, of filling up the old channel, and digging the lake, is aſcribed to their firſt king MENES. The bank is annually repaired by Perſia out of the tribute collected from thoſe parts; and the ſoldiers of the neighbouring garriſons are employed in that ſervice. For ſhould it blow up, the whole city of Memphis would be in danger of being drowned. The inner city, which is called the White Wall, is chiefly inhabited by Perſians, who are ſeldom fewer, including the garriſon, than 120,000. And this number the Ægyptians are obliged to ſupply with corn, according to the taxation of DARIUS, paying the reſt of their tribute in money, which beſides the revenue from the lake Mœris amounts yearly to ſeventy talents. But this is levied upon the whole province, comprehending part of Lybia, as far as Barca and Cyrene. This part of the city was valiantly defended by us againſt the Ægyptians and Athenians in the laſt revolt. The firſt palace, that ever was built, they tell you, was built here by MERCURY. In that, which is at preſent ſtanding, SARSAMES the viceroy of Ægypt keeps his court. It is ſituated upon the higheſt ground in the city,

* DIOD. SICUL. L. II. c. 5.
† HERODOT. Euterp. c. 99.

and fronts to the ſtately northern portico of VULCAN's temple. * Behind the palace lies a beautiful grove, and from the eminence you command a proſpect of the lake, to which there leads a gradual deſcent through viſtas, that open upon the water.

† It is a common report of the prieſts, that three hundred and thirty kings have reigned in Ægypt ſince MENES; that of them eighteen were Æthiopians, and among them one famous woman named NITOCRIS. But the ſame vanity, that has led them to impoſe upon mankind in other matters, and to claim to themſelves the earlieſt antiquity, has tended to perplex their chronology. They have uſed a like fallacy in ſtating the ages of their earlieſt kings, unleſs the lives of men are conſiderably ſhortened, ſince the diſtant period, when they reigned. The firſt extraordinary event in their hiſtory ſeems to be the treacherous murder of their firſt king MENES, which they fabulouſly allude to in the ſtory of his being deſtroyed by an Hippopotamus. But OSIRIS, they own, was ſlain by his brother TYPHON, and the Hippopotamus is the common emblem of TYPHON, as is particularly to be ſeen at Hermopolis. In their ancient ſuperſtition before the times of SESOSTRIS, who built ſhips of war, and extended his conqueſts both by ſeas and land, the ſea was an abomination to the Ægyptians, as repreſenting to them the deteſtable TYPHON; perhaps becauſe that invader came acroſs the ſeas to Ægypt. When they ſay OSIRIS periſhed in the ſea, they confound the hiſtorical event with their mythological allegory, and mean no more, than that the Nile, which is ſometimes fabled by OSIRIS, loſes its waters in the great receptacle of all rivers. Their coming acquainted with this element gave birth to new conceits, ſeemingly as wild and

* STRAB. L. VI.

† HEROD. Euterp.

extravagant as any I have mentioned before; * that the ſun and moon did not, according to the vulgar notion, ride in chariots through the air, but glided along in ſhips or veſſels, as through a thin liquid medium. And one often meets with an Isis or an Apis upon a boat in their hieroglyphical repreſentations, as emblems of the ſun and moon, for which they have found a phyſical explanation, that the heavenly bodies are nouriſhed with vapours exhaled from the ſea and rivers. The chief obſtacle to the Ægyptian navigation, and what kept them ſtrangers to the ſea ſo long, ſeems to have been the want of convenient ports and harbours. The Phœnicians being moſt commodiouſly ſeated for navigation, ſtruck much earlier into naval improvements, and made themſelves conſiderable by carrying on a traffic through all parts. By them the commodities of Ægypt were exchanged for thoſe of other countries. They firſt came acquainted with the Greeks, and by them the Ægyptians were made known to them; for though many of the Greeks owed their original to Ægypt, yet were they by length of time eſtranged from their parent land. But the Phœnicians from the earlieſt times were known to the Ægyptians. †The tradition is preſerved in Perſia of their original, or the place from whence they very anciently removed; and we are well aſſured, that they were once ſeated upon the confines of the Arabian gulf; and that coming from thence they ſettled where they now are. And this memorable tradition in Perſia helps me to account for a remarkable revolution, which I have traced out in the Ægyptian hiſtory, viz. that about ſeven hundred years after the eſtabliſhment of their ancient dynaſties, ‡ a great invaſion happened from a people, that came from the Eaſt, who after infinite ravages reduced the country, de-

* Plutarch. de Isid & Osiride.

† Herod. Clio. c. 1. Polyhymn.

‡ Ex Maneth. fragment. apud Joseph. contra Apion. L. I.

ſtroyed their temples, overturned their government, and ſet up a king of their own, to whom not only the Lower Ægypt, but Memphis alſo, and the upper region became tributary. For anciently what we now call Ægypt was divided into three parts; Thebais was a diſtinct diſtrict; the dynaſty of Memphis was the upper Ægypt; and that of Heliopolis, comprehending the reſt of the Delta, the lower region. Theſe invaders have been ever ſince called by the Ægyptians *Hycſos* or ſhepherds, a word of contempt, implying a mean ignoble race, who followed no employment more honourable than that of tending cattle. Now the Phœnicians having probably dwelt upon the borders of Arabia before they invaded Ægypt, might, as the Arabians are, be famous graziers; and from their ancient ſituation might early have been acquainted with the ſeas beyond the Arabian gulf. The ſix firſt paſtor-kings reduced all Ægypt under their power except Thebais; but after a ſubjection of about five hundred years, the Ægyptians by help of the Theban king caſt off this foreign yoke. TETHMOSIS recovered Heliopolis, and was the firſt prince from Thebais, who ſettled his dominion there, and † aboliſhed the barbarous cuſtom of human ſacrifices. ‡ MOERIS about the ſame time expelled them from Memphis, and TETHMOSIS drove them into the extreme parts of the country, and took and § ruined Abaris, now Peluſium, their laſt hold in Ægypt. From theſe times Ægypt became a flouriſhing kingdom, and increaſed in power and glory, till SESOSTRIS the brother of DANAUS extended his conqueſts through all Aſia, and ſet up an univerſal empire before NINUS and SEMIRAMIS. With a great naval force he took Cyprus and Phœnicia, led an army againſt the Aſſyrians and Medes, and after he

† EX MANETH. PORPHYR. περὶ ἀποχῆς. L. II. §. 55.

‡ EUSEB. Præpar. Evan. L. IV. c. 16.

§ EUSEB. ibid. L. X. c. 11.

had reduced thoſe nations, invaded the more diſtant cities and provinces of the Eaſt. He conquered Scythia as far as the river Tanais, and left pillars in ſeveral places in memory of his great exploits. Upon his return out of Thrace, ‖ he planted the Colchi upon the river Phaſis, leaving a part of his army to people the new colony. He contrived an itinerary to ſettle the boundaries and diſtances of the countries he had travelled over, and introduced the ſtudy of geography, which has ſince been greatly improved by the ſacred ſcribes. ¶ But the firſt geographical tables are ſaid to be preſerved among the Colchi. This SESOSTRIS inſtructed the Ægyptians in horſemanſhip. His army, they tell you, conſiſted of 24,000 horſe, beſides a much larger body of foot, with 27,000 armed chariots; and anciently an horſe was the Ægyptian ſymbol for fortitude and boldneſs; but after the military genius of the Ægyptians abated, that warlike animal was diſuſed; and by the canals, which that prince begun, and others have ſince carried through every part of the country for the more general conveyance of the waters, it is in moſt places rendered impaſſable for chariots and horſes. SESOSTRIS firſt made it a law, that no perſon ſhould

‖ HEROD. Eut. c. 163. AGATHIAS de Lazis agens, L. II. c. 53. Colchi dicuntur eſſe Ægyptiorum colonia, &c.

¶ Ἐνθεν δή τενα φασὶ πέριξ διὰ πᾶσαν ὁδεῦσαι
Εὐρώπην Ἀσίην τε———
Αἶα γε μὴν ἔτι νῦν μένει ἔμπεδον, υἱωνοίτε
Τῶνδ' ἀνδρῶν ὅς ὄγε καθίσατο ναίεμεν Αἶαν,
Οἳ δή τοι γράπτυς πατρώιων ἔθεν εἰρύοντα,
Κύδριας, οἷς ἔνι πᾶσι ὁδοὶ καὶ πείρατ' ἔασιν
Ἠγρῆς τε τροφερῆς τε πέριξ ἐπινεισομένοισιν.

ARGON. IV. v. 272.

EUSTATHIUS in fine epiſt. ante DION. Περιηγ. SESOSTRIS Ægyptius, ut aiunt, cum multum terrarum peragrâſſet, itinera tabulis edidit, & tabularum deſcriptionem non ſolum Ægyptiis ſed & Scythis in admirationem impertiri dignatus eſt. Scythiæ hi ſunt Colchi Ælam incolentes, quorum poſteri γράπτυς πατέρων κυδριας habuerunt. MARSHAM.

forſake the profeſſion of his fathers. By this the military as well as the prieſtly tribes were likely to be kept diſtinct. The ſoldiery were then divided into two claſſes, the Hermotybies and the Calaſiries; and a thouſand of each choſen annually for the king's body-guard; and theſe were commonly taken from among thoſe, who had their ſettlement in the Theban and Chemmite nomes. But the ſoldiery in general enjoyed a certain portion of lands exempt from all taxes throughout the ſeveral nomes both of Thebais and of the Upper and Lower Ægypt. For the whole kingdom was divided by SESOSTRIS into thirty-ſix nomes, for the more eaſy adminiſtration of it; and over each were appointed deputies to take care of the king's revenues. The warlike ſpirit of this prince aſpiring to deſpotic government tended to aggrandize the military orders, but to diminiſh the authority of the prieſts. The empire, which SESOSTRIS had eſtabliſhed, continued among his poſterity for ſome generations; but the military intereſt, which from his time was grown conſiderable, raiſed at laſt great commotions, particularly in the Lower Ægypt; and ſeveral ſmall dynaſties were ſet up in prejudice to the Theban monarchy, till in the reign of ANYSIS the Blind, SABACON an Ethiopian took advantage of their diviſions, and invaded Ægypt. ANYSIS ſaved himſelf by flying to the fens, where he lay concealed, during the whole period that SABACON ſtayed in Ægypt, in an iſland called Elbo. That Ethiopian prince helped to re-eſtabliſh the power of the prieſts, and, they ſay, returned back into his own country by the ſummons of an oracle, when he had reigned fifty years with great juſtice and clemency. 'Tis recorded of him, that inſtead of puniſhing malefactors with death, he employed them in raiſing mounds about the towns they belonged to; by which moſt of the towns in Ægypt are elevated ſo high above the waters. But his burning alive the Theban BOCCHORIS, a wiſe and excellent prince, cannot be reconciled with that

character. He alſo put to death NECHUS, ſovereign of the Saite dynaſty. After his departure, and the death of ANYSIS, SETHON a prieſt of VULCAN was inveſted with royal power; in whoſe reign the art military was neglected, and the profeſſion of arms brought into contempt. Then prieſt-craft begun to revive, and the tyranny of ſuperſtition was ſet up. Thus did one extreme lead to another, and the military ſtrength of Ægypt having ſerved to eſtabliſh arbitrary power, made way to its own deſtruction. By theſe revolutions things returned again into their ancient channel. The power and empire of Ægypt was reduced, and the ſtate in the end was left defenceleſs. After the reign of SETHON they made an attempt to free themſelves from kingly power, but the event was anarchy and confuſion. Then twelve tyrants were ſet up by the different factions of the people, till PSAMMETICHUS, the ſon of NECHUS, defeated his colleagues by a foreign force, and once more eſtabliſhed a monarchy. It flouriſhed again for ſeveral reigns, till Ægypt became tributary to the king of Babylon, and was afterwards ſubjected by CAMBYSES to the Perſian empire. But the Ægyptians are naturally headſtrong and untractable; and by what I have obſerved of their diſpoſition they ſtill breathe a ſpirit of liberty, and are as reluctant as ever againſt a foreign yoke. Thou well knoweſt, CLEANDER, the bold efforts they made, both in the reign of XERXES, and in the beginning of this. AMYRTEUS, who then upon the defeat of INARUS, and reduction of the country by MEGABYZUS, fled to the fens, ſtill ſupports the old faction againſt Perſia; and reſides, as is reported, in the ſame inacceſſible iſland, where ANYSIS concealed himſelf ſo long. He reigns there like an independent prince over the followers of his fortune. But the friends of Perſia have reaſon to [redacted] more numerous and formidable party among the malecontents of Ægypt, who might be willing to join him upon any deſperate undertaking; and I am perſuaded, that when-

ever an occaſion offers, their attempts to become independent of Perſia will be no leſs vigorous than they have heretofore been. Adieu.

L.

LETTER LXXXVI.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS. From Athens.

I deferred ſending an account of the concluſion, which is at laſt put to the buſineſs of Mitylene, till the various turns, which it has paſſed through, were over, and till I was able by converſing with the principal perſons, who conducted the deliberations of the republic in the courſe of the affair, to lay before thee impartially the reaſons, which induced the people to inflict the utmoſt, I may ſay the moſt extravagant ſeverities, with regard to the unfortunate Mitylenians, in the firſt decree, and to ſoften the rigor of them in ſo remarkable a manner in the ſecond, within the compaſs of a very few days.

I mentioned in former diſpatches, that the Athenians ſeemed inclined to come to the extremeſt reſolutions in puniſhing the revolt of Mitylene, as well to terrify the reſt of their allies from ſhaking off their dependance, as to gratify that warm reſentment, which inflamed them againſt the inhabitants of Leſbos, from whom they leaſt expected, that ſuch an ungrateful return would be made to their favours, and an example ſet to the other tributary iſlands, which might prove ſo prejudicial to the intereſts of this ſtate. For theſe reaſons, not to mention the naturally quick and

ſenſible temper of the Athenians, and the flow of ſpirits, which every inſtance of good fortune throws them into, it is no wonder, that puſhed on by the orators of CLEON's party they paſſed the following decree in the firſt aſſembly, which they held upon the puniſhment of the Mitylenians:

" Under the archonſhip of EUCLIDES, on the fifth day " of the month Hecatombeon, THRASICLES the ſon of " MIDIAS of the tribe of CECROPS moved; That whereas " the inhabitants of Leſbos had ſoon after the Perſian war " concluded an alliance with the commonwealth of Athens, " by which they obliged themſelves to pay yearly the ſum " of fifteen talents, and furniſh a ſquadron of ſhips when " demanded; and likewiſe to remain firm allies to this ſtate, " as well in defence of the general liberties of Greece, as " the rights and prerogatives of Athens in particular; and " whereas the Athenians, in a juſt ſenſe of the advantages " they received from this alliance, conferred immunities " and privileges on the inhabitants of Leſbos, greater than " thoſe they beſtowed on any other people in their depend- " ance; and whereas the Leſbians, ungratefully forgetting " theſe benefits, did, on pretences void of all foundation, " not only violate the treaty they have entered into, by " withdrawing the ſtipulated ſupplies of ſhips and money, " but likewiſe wholly deſert the intereſts of the republic in " the midſt of a dangerous and expenſive war, and by add- " ing to the number of its enemies, contribute as far as in " them lay to its utter ruin; and whereas the Athenians, " aided by the gods, the revengers of infringed leagues, and " the juſtice of the divine NEMESIS, have reduced the city " Mitylene to ſurrender at diſcretion; be it decreed by the " ſenate and people of Athens, that for the puniſhment of " theſe numerous injuries, for a warning to the reſt of their " allies, who have yet preſerved their fidelity unſhaken, " and for the aſſerting of thoſe rights, which an infraction

" of the moſt ſacred ties gives over a perjured ally, that the " inhabitants of Mitylene, who have attained the age of " manhood, be without diſtinction put to death, and the " women and children reduced to ſlavery, and ſold by lots; " and let CHARES, DION, and POLYCRATES be choſen " to ſee this decree put in execution."

The faction, which drove on the people to theſe extremities, were ſo eager to put the laſt hand to their deteſtable cruelty, that they prevailed with them, that a galley ſhould be immediately diſpatched with the three commiſſioners on board, and orders to PACHES to carry the decree into execution. The day after they were ſailed, the Athenians agreeably to their character began to ſoften; they found ſeveral citizens of authority amongſt them did not approve this ſeverity, and thought a leſs degree of puniſhment not only more generous, but more prudent. At the ſame time the Mitylenian deputies uſed infinite art and induſtry, that the affair might be again debated; and by the force of their perſonal applications with men of honeſty and good-nature, and motives of a leſs liberal kind with thoſe of mercenary diſpoſitions, obtained of the Prytanes, that another aſſembly ſhould be convened to decide the buſineſs. When the people were met together in a great ſquare near the citadel, and the uſual ſacrifices and luſtrations were performed, a prayer was offered up for a bleſſing on the counſels of the republic. After the public crier had proclaimed thrice with a loud voice, ΤΙΣ ΒΟΥΛΕΤΑΙ ΔΙΑΓΟΡΕΥΕΙΝ; Who will give his opinion? I was very well pleaſed to ſee my friend PHILEMON, ſo often mentioned in the courſe of theſe letters, ſtep forward with a placid dignity, and mount the tribunal. He began with telling the people, that as ſickneſs had prevented him from giving his opinion upon the affair in queſtion the firſt time it was debated, he was extremely glad

they had reſumed their conſultations, that he might have an opportunity of uſing that freedom in ſpeaking his ſentiments, which they always allowed him. He was ſorry to find, that the continuance of the war ſeemed not only to have effaced the impreſſions of humanity from amongſt them, but even produced a diſregard for the ſoundeſt maxims of policy. That it was a known obſervation, exceſſive puniſhments were far from having the effect propoſed; they rather occaſioned deſpair in the guilty, which was often the parent in them of efforts above their natural ſtrength to recover their freedom, and revenge themſelves upon their oppreſſors. At the ſame time the heightning the puniſhment with cruelty expoſed the inflictors to the hatred of their allies, who were juſtly apprehenſive of the caſe becoming their own on the ſlighteſt ground of offence, and to the redoubled vigour of their enemies, to whom ſuch proceedings appeared like a reſolution never to ſheath the ſword. He deſired them to obſerve, he did not ſpeak againſt puniſhing the authors of a revolt; that was a piece of juſtice due both to themſelves and the gods; but only againſt that indiſcriminate ſentence, which involved the innocent with the guilty, the miſguided with the miſguiders. He then put them in mind of recovering that reputation, which they had formerly for gentleneſs and lenity, and which of late years he was grieved to ſay they had forfeited. He concluded thus: "Athenians, I have given that opinion, "which I think not only moſt honourable, but moſt advan-"tageous for you. Let it *not* be ſaid in Greece, that "whilſt Athens boaſts of being the only city which has "erected in one of its ſtreets an altar to Compaſſion, the "influence of that amiable divinity is totally eraſed from the "hearts of its citizens."

The ſpeech of PHILEMON was received with great approbation by his party; but it was immediately anſwered by

orators of the other ſide, and the debate inſenſibly grew warm. CLEON at laſt roſe, and with a vehemence both of action and utterance harangued the aſſembly to the following effect: "That what had paſſed that day was to him a ſuffi-"cient proof, that a republican government was of all others "the moſt improper to maintain authority. By putting an "affair of this nature in deliberation, after it had been once "reſolved, they ſhewed a ſoftneſs in their nature and an "unſteadineſs in their counſels, which would encourage "their allies to riſe againſt them upon every occaſion. "They could not ſurely be ignorant, that the authority they "exerciſed over thoſe allies was merely an uſurped one; "and that no favours they could beſtow would be ſufficient "to prevent their ſeizing every opportunity to recover their "independency. That in order to keep them ſteady to "their firſt decree, he imagined he needed only put them in "mind of the injuries, which they had ſuffered from the "Leſbians, who both by their ſituation as an iſle, and their "power as a nation, were out of all danger of being en-"ſlaved by the Athenian arms; ſo that their revolt pro-"ceeded from no other motive than the reſtleſs humour of "mankind, which induces them to prefer a new and uncer-"tain ſtate of affairs to their preſent condition, however "happy. He declared, he ſaw no reaſon for excepting any "out of the puniſhment, ſince they were all equally con-"cerned in the crime; and exhorted the people to make "an example of ſeverity, which might keep their allies "within the bounds of duty, whilſt they were oppoſing the "attempts of their numerous enemies."

The faction of CLEON teſtified by clamours of applauſe, that his ſentiments met with their concurrence. At the cloſe of the debate DIODOTUS enforced the arguments for mercy in a very elaborate ſpeech. He told the aſſembly, that their debating twice upon an affair of this importance

was an argument to him of their wiſdom, ſince there were no greater enemies to prudent counſels than anger and precipitation. He did not think the point in debate was, whether the Leſbians were guilty or not; that was a point allowed on all hands; but whether the decree, which they had paſſed two days before, was for the advantage of the ſtate. On this head he obſerved, that in all caſes of revolt a door ſhould be left open for repentance; and it was more particularly reaſonable with regard to a people, who being once free, could not be blamed for endeavouring to efface every mark of dependance. The argument he chiefly urged was, that as Greece and the adjacent iſles were divided into the popular and ariſtocratical parties, the former of which ſided with Athens, the latter wiſhed well to the Peloponneſian cauſe, they ought to conſider, that by involving all the inhabitants of Mitylene in the puniſhment, the ſeverity of it would fall heavieſt upon their friends of the popular faction, who, as ſoon as they had ſeized the power, ſurrendered the city to the army of the republic. For theſe and other reaſons (which I ſhould tire thee with repeating) he moved, "That the former decree ſhould be repealed, "and the authors of the revolt only, amounting to about a "thouſand of the magiſtrates and rich citizens of Mitylene, "put to death; that the fortifications of the place ſhould be "demoliſhed; their ſhips delivered up; and their land "divided into two parts, the one to be dedicated to the ſer-"vice of the gods, the other to be ſhared out in lots to an "Athenian colony."

The motion of DIODOTUS paſſed on a diviſion but by a very few voices; and a galley was immediately diſpatched with a repeal of the former decree. The rowers encouraged by the promiſes and rewards of the Mitylenian deputies made ſuch expedition, as to arrive at Mitylene juſt time enough to prevent PACHES and the commiſſioners from putting

their firſt orders in execution. Thou wilt eaſily imagine, with how much joy this news was received by the inhabitants of Mitylene, who had nothing before their eyes but the preparations and executioners of their puniſhment.

I need not ſuggeſt to thee, enlightened miniſter, that the Athenians by carrying their reſentment ſo far againſt the revolted allies, and expreſſing the utmoſt unwillingneſs to afford the leaſt hopes of pardon to thoſe, who may follow their example, point out themſelves in what manner a war may be carried on againſt them to moſt advantage. For when once the colonies and tributary iſlands forſake this republic, and either ſet up governments of their own, or ſeek the protection of a ſtronger power, one may foretel without divination, that the ruin of Athens is at hand. Farewel.

P.

LETTER LXXXVII.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

EVERY art, HYDASPES, that tends to the comfort or ornament of human life, took its firſt riſe either from neceſſity or convenience; and I believe it often happens, that chance ſketches out the rude deſign, which is afterwards improved, matured, and poliſhed by reflection. That this was eminently the caſe in the origin of theatrical repreſentations is agreed on all hands. Tragedy and comedy were nothing more in their beginnings than hymns to BACCHUS, whom my friend CTESIPHON the ſophiſt conſiders in no other light than that of the beſt vine-dreſſer of antiquity. Some of his followers one day accidentally found a goat browzing in their vineyard. They took and ſacrificed it to their dead and perhaps deified maſter, from motives of gratitude as well as intereſt. The neighbours were called in, who joined with them in ſongs and dances; and the revelling being approved of by the company, was ſoon converted, we may ſuppoſe, into an annual ſolemnity. The perſons, who performed theſe extemporal hymns, either alternately or all together, were in ſucceeding times called the chorus. This cuſtom was transferred into their cities, and the ſubject of it was very much altered; for the compoſers of the ſongs having almoſt exhauſted their imagination by conſtantly exerciſing it on the ſame argument, recited the actions of ſome illuſtrious hero with the praiſes of BACCHUS. Thus the thing continued till the days of THESPIS, who is allowed to have been the firſt, who enlarged the ſcheme, and aboliſhing theſe rough and uncouth dithyrambs,

(as the Greeks call them) introduced juſt and regular entertainments of written poems. In aid of the chorus he brought a ſingle actor upon the ſtage, who at fit intervals came out from the reſt, and amuſed the audience with an account of the exploits of famous men; then retired again, when the chorus had taken breath, which was ſtill the moſt conſiderable part of the performance. However, by this means a new turn was given to it; the buſineſs of the chorus was leſſened, and ſomething like a plot or fable was introduced. THESPIS went about the villages in carts, daubed the faces of his actors with lees of wine, and contended for the premium of tragedy, a Goat; while others vied for the premium of comedy, a baſket of Figs and a veſſel of Wine. He lived about the time of SOLON, who, by procuring an order from the court of Areopagus, obliged him to lay down an employment ſo unprofitable to the ſtate. That acute and penetrating lawgiver foreſaw the conſequences that would enſue, and (the Athenians ſay) in the ſpirit of divination foretold them.

ÆSCHYLUS improved upon this model by adding a ſecond actor, and diverſifying the fable. As he was extremely diligent in the ſtudy of HOMER, he ſet the Iliad before his eyes as the ſtandard of poetry. He obſerved the vivacity of the dialogues introduced there, and conſidered how much more agreeable they would appear, if exhibited in ſuch a manner, as to ſeem real, and to flow naturally from the paſſions, ſentiments, and behaviour of common life. Hence he thought of caſting his plays into the form of converſation. By this time the chorus, which was at firſt the principal part of tragedy, was only an acceſſory ornament of it, and employed to relieve the actors, as the actors were before admitted to relieve that. Nay, the chorus, which was anciently the play itſelf, now ſerved only to expreſs the ſentiments of the by-ſtanders, to take the ſide of injured inno-

cence and virtue, and to ſuggeſt ſuch reflections, as the well-minded part of the audience might reaſonably be ſuppoſed to make. ÆSCHYLUS taught the perſons concerned in it, to make thoſe movements in their dances, which are called the ſtrophe and antiſtrophe. The firſt of them is from eaſt to weſt, and intended to ſignify the diurnal courſe of the ſun; the ſecond is the reverſe of that motion. After ſome time they ſing the epode in concert with the muſical inſtruments, and ſtand ſtill in the middle of the ſtage, intimating by a quaint conceit the ſtability of the earth in the centre. While THESPIS lived, the players had no regular place of repreſentation, but contented themſelves with the moveable ſtage I have named to you. ÆSCHYLUS, as he was received with public honours and encouragement in Athens after the death of SOLON, employed AGATHARCHUS, a ſkilful architect, to build a theatre at the expence of the ſtate, and to contrive the decorations and ſcenery. He furniſhed his actors with maſks, dreſſed them in flowing robes agreeable to the characters they ſuſtained on different occaſions, and by the aſſiſtance of buſkins advanced them to the fancied tallneſs of heroes. In this he accommodated himſelf to the prejudices of the multitude, who even to this day entertain a notion, that all the ancient warriors, except little TYDEUS, were of a ſize beyond the common ſtandard of nature.

Thus is ÆSCHYLUS become the father of dramatic poetry; and as it is a greater inſtance of genius to invent than to improve, he may deſerve perhaps more regard than any, who have ſucceeded him. He has written one play, which is an aggravated deſcription, but indeed finely drawn, of the diſtreſs of XERXES and his army in the late invaſion; and repreſents the faithleſs and corrupted Perſians as deſtitute of the favour of OROMASDES, while Greece was under the influence and protection of her guardian deities. The

reading of this play has ſuggeſted one thing to me, with which I will conclude this letter; and though it may be thought perhaps by ſome a very laudable partiality, I can by no means approve it in ÆSCHYLUS, notwithſtanding his great qualities: I mean, that whether the ſtory will admit of it or no, yet the compoſers of tragedy, like their brethren the comic poets, love to wreſt and warp the ſentiments, which ariſe from it, to the circumſtances of the preſent times; they make frequent alluſions to the miniſters of ſtate, and the meaſures purſued by their countrymen. They place every thing in a ſubordinate light to this arrogant republic: the ſtrongeſt ties of decency and intereſt can preſerve no government in Greece from theſe invidious compariſons; and her ſiſter-city Lacedemon with their common enemy the Perſian are equally expoſed to this abuſe. Indeed it ought not to be wondered at, ſince an indifferent poet may recommend himſelf by this artifice to an Athenian audience; and the excellent EURIPIDES, from a fatal error in ſo eſſential a particular, has more than once been forced to yield to a cringing competitor. In a word, HYDASPES, they are ſo zealous in doing juſtice to their national merit, that they take ſometimes to themſelves what was hardly intended by the writer; and are ſo fond of the leaſt incenſe, which is offered to their vanity, that they receive with eagerneſs the grateful tribute, and applaud not ſo much the good ſenſe, as the flattery of the poet.

From Athens. C.

LETTER LXXXVIII.

HYDASPES to CLEANDER. From Suſa.

DURING your ſtay at Suſa ſome years ago, you muſt have ſeen NEHEMIAH the king's cup-bearer. Though it did not fall in your way to make an acquaintance with him, or to hear any account of him, that might engage your attention, yet I will venture to affirm, if you knew as much of him as I do, you would give him a very honourable place both in your eſteem and your affections. He is by nation a Jew, and the ſon of one HACHALIAH, who, notwithſtanding the encouragement ſhewn to that province by our monarch and his predeceſſors, choſe rather to dwell in Suſa, than with his countrymen in the land inhabited by their anceſtors. It was by means of the old man's continual reſidence in this city, and the humility of his deportment, that his ſon was raiſed by degrees to a conſiderable office near the king's perſon, and enjoyed a large ſhare of the royal favour. The queen's intereſt, joined to NEHEMIAH's, after a faithful attendance at court, procured him a commiſſion of great importance to the diſtreſſed people of Judæa, which inveſted him with a power of rebuilding the walls of Jeruſalem, ſettling the citizens in tranquillity, reſtoring their commerce, regulating the abuſes, that had crept into the cuſtoms enjoined them by their law; in ſhort, of making them ſatisfactory amends for a long and harraſſing captivity. Thus the indolence of the father, though complained of by his country, proved of real ſervice to it, as it opened a way to the activity of the ſon to exert itſelf in re-eſtabliſhing the

ſingular and boaſted policy of the Jews. So true is it, that OROMASDES works by methods unknown to men, to ends as unforeſeen by them.

For many years NEHEMIAH was looked upon as a crafty and finiſhed courtier, much attached to the intereſts of his nation, and as thoſe, who hated him, ſaid, not a little to his own. For the gracious ARTAXERXES heaped on him great wealth, which was pretended to have been either illegally extorted by the ſale of offices in his gift, or to have been cunningly procured from the king by every abject art of flattery and diſſimulation. I, who knew him better, always ſaw him in an amiable light, but till lately never ſaw him in a ſtriking one. Since his laſt return from Paleſtine, I have had frequent converſations with him, and find on examining into the ſtate and hiſtory of the Jews, that I have hitherto received imperfect information concerning them; and notwithſtanding the more perfect information I have now received, I confeſs, CLEANDER, my delicacy is ſcarce reconciled to them, either prejudice or common ſenſe ſticks ſo cloſe to me.

NEHEMIAH is buſy in ſoliciting a renewal of the powers formerly granted to him, which are juſt expired. During his government he adminiſtred juſtice with fidelity, and ſupported the authority of his maſter with unuſual magnificence. He lived among his people twelve years, and executed all or even more than could be expected from the moſt dextrous. Animated by his preſence they fortified and rebuilt Jeruſalem, inſomuch that it vies with Sardis in grandeur; and to defend themſelves from the incurſions of their enemies, while they carried on the works, held their ſwords in one hand, and their trowels in the other. His table was open every day to an hundred and fifty chiefs among the Jews, and hoſpitably admitted ſtrangers, who came from all

parts to be witneſſes of the thriving condition of his province. Whoever appeared in the city of any figure, was invited to the governor's houſe, received with courteſy, and entertained with liberality. There were conſtantly provided in his kitchen one ox and ſix choice ſheep, and he treated his gueſts with the various wines of the Eaſt, and the coan of the Greeks. Theſe expences he bore out of his own revenues, not only without laying any new tax on Judæa, but without accepting the regular income, by which thoſe, who had gone before him in that office, were ſupported. This ſhews the ſpirit and temper of the man. The bounty of the king had enriched him; and he, from a ſenſe of gratitude to his prince, and a love to his country, is well pleaſed with beſtowing thoſe riches to the honour, and in the ſervice of both.

The Jews (a nation the moſt ſtubbornly bigotted to themſelves) tell you, that when they were proſperous and independent, their conſtitution was founded on the narrow-minded ſcheme of ſeparation from the converſe of their neighbours, and a total excluſion from the arts and manners of other countries. They ſpeak in the higheſt terms of their lawgiver, who was either an inſpired prophet, a deſigning knave, or a warm-headed enthuſiaſt; and being reputed the ſon of a king of Ægypt's daughter, though deſcended from a Jew, was educated in the ſchools of Ægyptian learning and legiſlation. Pretending to be ſupernaturally aſſiſted, he reſcued his fellows in a moſt unexampled manner from a ſtate of intolerable ſlavery under the tyrant SALATIS. He conducted them by very painful marches into the land where they ſettled, and laid out the plan of a commonwealth for them, which is of a novel and peculiar caſt. After his death they engaged in ſeveral unſucceſsful wars, and were at laſt reduced to an ignominious bondage in Babylon, where they ſubmitted to the meaneſt employments. The mercy of

CYRUS releaſed them, XERXES confirmed them in their privileges, and many of them followed his arms into Greece. Much however was wanting to compleat their reſtoration, when NEHEMIAH in that genius of ancient policy, which has long left the world, put himſelf at the head of large numbers returning into their country, redreſſed their grievances, emulated the fame of their firſt leader, and gained glory to himſelf, and ſtrength to his people.

Believe me, O CLEANDER, the man muſt be actuated by a great ſoul, who, for the ſake of a perverſe nation, can deſpiſe the pleaſures of retirement, the ſplendors of a court, and the ſmiles of his prince, to encounter the violence of the raſh and the caution of the timorous, the whiſpers of the envious and the clamours of the factious, the abſurdities of the weak and the opinions of the wiſe, in the capacity of a reforming ſtateſman.

C.

LETTER LXXXIX.

CLEANDER to MEGABYZUS. From Athens.

AFTER the high compliments thou payeſt to my taſte, in diſtinguiſhing the particular excellence of every piece I have ſent, and approving them all, it is by no means neceſſary to make ſuch another to my diſintereſtedneſs, and to inſiſt upon my laying out every Daric thou haſt remitted, without entering into a detail of the prices. But ſuch, I have obſerved, is the nature of the elegant arts, that a certain nobleneſs of ſpirit is inſeparable from whoever cultivates them with ſucceſs, or admires them with judgment. PERICLES, whoſe taſte governed that of all Greece, was moſt magnificent in this kind of expence; farther indeed than his fortune would allow, eſpecially as he was too much a ſervant of the public to attend with exactneſs to his private affairs. Though upon his death, this appeared to the whole city to be the caſe, it is but very lately, that the younger PERICLES has been prevailed on to break that admirable collection, which his father had taught him to regard as the moſt valuable part of his inheritance. Here is an opportunity to do juſtice to thy commiſſion; and I cannot but congratulate theſe favourite works of art, amongſt which I have often walked with ſo much pleaſure, that they only quit the gallery of PERICLES to be more worthily placed in the palace of MEGABYZUS.

The diſpute about ACHILLES's armour was painted by * PARRHASIUS for the prize at Samos, which he loſt to TIMANTHES. The judges, it is agreed, by their deciſion did not intend to determine the merit of the pieces ſo much, as to mortify his exceſſive vanity; but were diſappointed, and he left their tribunal with this reflection, "that it was, "AJAX's conſtant ill fortune to ſee an unworthy rival pre-"ferred." In this † compoſition thou wilt obſerve nothing hard or glaring; the outline of the figures vaniſhes as it were into the ground; and every object leſſens and grows indiſtinct in proportion to its diſtance. ‡ The ſtrong light upon the principal groupe of the two heroes with the armour lying between them, catches the eye immediately, and goes off by degrees upon the leſs conſiderable parts. What an amazing effect of art is this, compared with the performances of the old maſters! The utmoſt effort of § EUMARUS was to diſtinguiſh the ſex by the ſhape of his figures; ARDICES of Corinth found no better a way than to write under them; and CIMON firſt varied that ſingle upright attitude in uſe

* PARRHASIO nemo inſolentius & arrogantius uſus eſt gloria artis—ergo magnis ſuffragijs ſuperatus a TIMANTHE Sami, in AJACE armorumque judicio. Herois nomine ſe moleſte ferre dicebat, quod iterum ab indigno victus eſſet. PLIN. lib. 35. §. 36.

† Confeſſione artificium in lineis extremis palmam adeptus.—Extrema corporum facere, & deſinentis picturæ modum includere, rarum in ſucceſſu artis invenitur; ambire enim debet ſe extremitas ipſa & ſic deſinere, ut promittat alia poſt ſe. Ibid.

‡ Ne colorum claritas oculorum aciem offenderet, veluti per lapidem ſpecularem intuentibus e longinque; & eadem res nimis floridis coloribus auſteri tatem occulte daret. Ibid.

§ Qui primus in pictura marem fœminamque diſcrevit, EUMARUM—& CIMONEM Cleonæum: Hic catagrapha invenit, hoc eſt obliquas imagines, & varie formare vultus, reſpicientes, ſuſpicienteſque, & deſpicientes. Ibid. 34. ARDICES Corinthius quos pingeret, adſcribere inſtitutum. Ibid. 5.

till his time. While they found ſuch difficulty to repreſent nature, it was not to be expected they ſhould improve it; and not yet maſters of deſign, they could not turn their thoughts upon the artifices of colouring. But there is a curioſity in theſe rude eſſays; and the ſpecimen I ſend, will lead thee through the whole progreſs of the art.

The like degrees of improvement may be obſerved in the ſuite of ſtatues from DIPOENUS and ANTHERMUS to PHIDIAS and POLYCLETUS. The Hermæ, which I take to be the firſt attempts, are very imperfect; they are only a head upon a ſquare block of ſtone: but the ſucceeding ages have conſidered this form as ſomething ſacred, and the greateſt men are ſtill thus repreſented. When they advanced as far as whole figures, they merely copied what they had ſeen in Ægypt. Compare the Caſtor and Pollux of DIPOENUS with the Oſiris and Orus; the legs joined together, the arms ſtuck cloſe to the ſides, and the drapery growing as it were to the body, prove them of the ſame family. But the Greeks will not allow this original of ſculpture, which robs their DÆDALUS of the invention. The accounts of this hero (for ſo he is ſtiled) are like all of his age, obſcured with fable; yet in many parts of Greece, if we may believe a conſtant tradition, works of his are ſtill to be ſeen. * One of theſe in the ſame groſs manner of carving thou wilt find in this collection; it is a ſmall ebony figure of one of the attendants of BACCHUS, and performs of itſelf thoſe antick tumblings uſed in the proceſſions of the gods. This is done by quick-ſilver in the cavity of the image; a contrivance, which an old author expreſsly aſcribes to DÆDALUS, and which may account for the greateſt miracles related of his art.

* φίλιππος ὁ Κωμωδιδασκαλος φησὶ, τὸν Δαίδαλον κινημένην ποιῆσαι τὴν ξυλίνην Ἀφροδίτην, ἐγκέαντα Ἀργυρον χυτον. Ariſtot. de Anima.—Something like the Japonneſe Puppet, ſhewn at MARGAS's in 1740.

Among theſe * ancient rarities I would place the large earthen vaſes from Magna Græcia; the paintings on them are as much above the groteſque Ægyptian taſte, as they are below the Greek correctneſs. Of the ſame rank are the Etruſcan ſtatues and bas reliefs, which have all of them ſome inſcription in the old language of their country, long ſince obſolete.

† The moſt beautiful proportions, collected from a number of the choiceſt ſubjects, diſpoſed in the moſt graceful attitudes the maſter's idea could frame, and finiſhed with the moſt ſcrupulous care, compoſe what POLYCLETUS calls his canon, his pattern of ſymmetry. He has given us alſo a treatiſe under the ſame title, wherein he lays down and illuſtrates the principles he went upon in his work. It is the roll I have put into the hand of the figure.

Inſtead of the nobleneſs and grace, which we admire in POLYCLETUS, ‡ STIPAX of Cyprus preſents you with a view of common nature. His ſubject is a favourite ſlave of PERICLES, broiling ſteaks over a fire, which he blows with his mouth. But the droll pictures of § PYREICUS are per-

C c 2

* Still found in the kingdom of Naples and in Tuſcany.

† Πάσας ἐκδιδάξας ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ συγγράμματι τὰς συμμετρίας τῦ σώματος ὁ Πολύκλειτος, ἔργῳ τὸν λόγον ἐπεδείκνυσι, ἄτμητ ὑργάσας Ἀνδριανταπατὰ τὰ τῦ λόγυ προσ-άγματα, κὶ καλέσας δὴ κὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀνδριαντα, καθαπερ κὶ τὸ συγγράμμα, Κάνονα. Galen. περὶ τῶν καθ' Ἱπποκρ. κὶ Πλατ.

‡ STIPAX Cyprius uno celebratur ſigno, Splanchnopte; PERICLIS Olympij vernula hic fuit, exta torrens, ignem oris pleni ſpiritu accendens. PLIN. lib. 34. §. 19.

§ PYREICUS arte paucis poſtferendus—humilia ſecutus, humilitas ſummam adeptus eſt gloriam; tonſtrinas ſutrinaſque pinxit & aſellos & obſo- ac ſimilia—in ijs conſummatæ voluptatis; quippe eæ pluris veniêre, quam maximæ multorum. PLIN. lib. 35. §. 37. Like REMBRANDT and TENIERS.

fect in this way; his markets and barbers-ſhops are the very things themſelves. No poetical imagination, no divine airs, no elegant draperies, but ſuch countenances, ſuch habits, ſuch accidents, as one daily ſees among the common people. His landſcape is agreeable to his figures; for caſcades, and temples, and porticos, he varies his ſcene with a pond, a hovel, or a mill. But there is ſuch a truth of deſign, and ſuch an amazing force of colouring, that he divides the ſuffrages of the curious with ZEUXIS himſelf. * The portraits of this maſter are no leſs eſteemed: he expreſſes the whole man in ſuch a manner, that the phyſiognomiſts have formed their judgments from his draughts with the ſame ſucceſs as from the life itſelf.

There is a delicacy and brightneſs in enamel, that takes every eye. We owe this invention to the genius of † POLYGNOTUS; and thou wilt perceive, to what perfection he has brought it, by the groupe of Trojan ladies, which he copied from a large hiſtory of his own in the Pœcile. The celebrated ELPINICE, whom the common talk of Athens makes the painter's miſtreſs, ſat for the principal figure ‡.

The ſilver § vaſes and pateræ are of Mentor; the brazen lamps and helmets of Calamis and Mys. There is ſome-

* This is told of APELLES by PLINY, lib. 35. §. 36. but is more likely to be true of ſuch a painter as PYREICUS.

† Encauſticæ picturæ extitêre POLYGNOTI. Ibid. 39.

‡ PLUTARCH in CIMONE.

§ Like the vaſes and ornaments of POLYDORE and JULIO ROMANO.

thing ſo grand in the general ſhape of theſe, the bas reliefs are ſo juſtly deſigned, the foliage is ſo looſe and tender, and every ornament ſo advantageouſly diſpoſed, that one would wonder to ſee ſo much taſte and diligence thus employed. But ſuch furniture is in the higheſt requeſt here, and the moſt trifling utenſil muſt be the work of a good hand. * The head emboſſed upon the golden ſhield is that of a Carthaginian general, who commanded in Sicily, done by his countryman BŒTHUS; ſo magnificent alſo are theſe proud merchants. It was a preſent to PERICLES from the Syracuſian, who took it in battle.

The laſt and moſt conſiderable acceſſion to this collection was owing to the gratitude of PHIDIAS. When he was dying in priſon, he bequeathed to his beloved patron the citron cabinet in the form of a Doric temple: in this were depoſited all the ſtudies for his great works, and whatever of the ſame kind he had got together of other maſters. † Here is the model of his MINERVA, with the contrivance for taking off the gold uſed in the ornaments; which, when he was accuſed, he offered to do before the aſſembly, and proved by the weight he had not embezzled it. As all the public buildings were under his direction, the deſigns of architecture are in vaſt quantities; they will thoroughly acquaint thee with thoſe ſtately fabrics; and on thy ſofa at Suſa thou mayſt ſurvey at leiſure the magnificence of Athens. ‡ The

* Pœni ex auro factitavêre & clypeos & imagines, ſecumque in caſtra tulêre. Faciem reddi in ſcuto cujuſque, qui fuerit uſus illo. PLIN. lib. 35. §. 4.

† PLUTARCH in PERICLE.

‡ Parrhenus—prælium apud Marathona factum pinxit;—in eo prælio Ioniæos duces pinxiſſe traditur, Athenienſium MILTIADEM, &c. Barbarorum DATIM, ARTAPHERNEM. PLIN. lib. 35. §. 34.

ſketch of the battle of Marathon is by PANÆNUS; the painting from it fills the principal compartments in the Pœcile. The heads of the generals are very ſlightly marked in the deſign; in the picture the Greek captains were drawn from the life. From whence PANÆNUS had his ideas of our commanders, I know not; but thy uncle ARTAPHERNES, who is drawing a bow at the head of the Parthian horſe, has very much thy air. It is for that circumſtance I mention this deſign. It would be endleſs to point out the beauties that fill this cabinet; for not an artiſt of reputation, but paid his court to the favourite of PERICLES by ſome ſpecimen of his ſkill. I muſt confeſs, I have more pleaſure in turning over theſe unfiniſhed ſketches, than in viewing the more laboured pieces. The fire, that is ſtruck out at the firſt thought, is often loſt in the progreſs of the work; and the genuine character of the maſter appears in the drawing, which in the picture muſt in ſome degree be ſacrificed to the taſte of the public. With how few touches do they give the ſtrongeſt expreſſions? And what a readineſs of conception muſt have produced that freedom of ſtroke?

Upon the report of my having purchaſed this collection, which I am ſuppoſed to do by commiſſion from my brother HIPPIAS for ſome Ionian lords, * ZEUXIS paid me a viſit, and offered me with great politeneſs ſome of his moſt capital deſigns. I would have made him a ſuitable return; but he aſſured me, it had been long his practice not to accept of any. SOCRATES too, the young philoſopher, whom I have often mentioned in my letters to SMERDIS, has obliged me with the models of his three graces, which are

* ZEUXIS donare opera ſua inſtituit, quod ea nullo ſatis digno pretio permutari poſſe diceret. Ibid. 36.

among the chief ornaments of the Acropolis †. He ſaid at the ſame time with a ſmile, "You ſee, my friend, I be-"gan by ſtudying the outſide of man."

When PHIDIAS was removed from the ſuperintendance of the public works, ſeveral of the moſt eminent maſters came hither from all parts of Greece, in hopes of ſucceeding him. But men's minds were at that time ſo inflamed by the two parties contending for the management of the ſtate, that what tended to the ſplendour and ornament of it was entirely neglected; and the war, which broke out ſoon after, has been carried on at ſuch an expence, as to engroſs the whole revenue. The deſigns begun in the late adminiſtration are ſtill ſuſpended; and the marble imported by PERICLES from Paros and Leſbos, lies half wrought in many parts of the city. One of theſe diſappointed artiſts, *TELEPHANES of Phocis, applied to me for a recommendation to my Ionian correſpondents; and brought with him the model of a ſtatue of the heroine LARISSA, which he had made for the city of that name in Theſſaly. It pleaſed me ſo much, that I engaged him immediately. Indeed I ſhould think thy commiſſion imperfectly executed, did I not accompany the collection with a perſon qualified to range and have the care of it. He has given in a deſign for a repoſitory, which, with the little alterations to be made upon the

† Charites in Propylæo Athenienſium non poſtferuntur, quas SOCRATES fecit. PLIN. lib. 36. §. 4.

* Miris laudibus celebrant & Telephanem Phoceum, ignotum alias, quoniam in Theſſalia habitaverit, ubi latuerint opera ejus; alioqui——— æquatum POLYCLETO, MYRONI, PYTHAGORÆ. Laudant ejus Lariſſam.—Illi non hanc ignobilitatis fuiſſe cauſam, ſed quoniam ſe regum XERXIS & DARIJ officinis dediderit, exiſtimant. PLIN. lib. 34. §. 10.

ſpot, may be erected either in thy gardens at Suſa, or in the midſt of that delicious grove, which makes thee ſo fond of the ſuburb of Ecbatana. As I found him extremely mortified at the neglect ſhewn him here, I diſcovered to him my real intention of ſending him into Perſia. He received it with great ſatisfaction, and thanked his good fortune, which took him from a country, where the ſtorms of oppoſite factions ſpared not even the genius of a PHIDIAS, to place him in thoſe happy climates, where thou preſideſt, and ſuffereſt no cloud of envy or detraction to intervene between the chearing beams of royal favour, and the virtue that deſerves them.

W.

LETTER XC.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES. From Athens.

PHILEMON returned home the other evening in a very peeviſh humour from ſome debate in the aſſembly, which it ſeems had been carried on with a peculiar vehemence. "I "have long thought it, ſaid he, a ſignal inſtance of the "decay of oratory in our public councils, that ſpeaking to "the purpoſe is laid now a-days intirely out of the notion "of eloquence. The young men, inſtead of informing "themſelves in the merits of the queſtion, are pleaſed with "premeditated witticiſms, convinced by ſubtle fallacies, "and ſuffer themſelves to be led away by the force of in-"vectives, rather than the weight of argument. The old "ones are fooliſh enough to encourage them in this fatal "way of thinking; are artful enough to perſuade them, "that they embrace patriotiſm in adhering to a faction; "are mean enough to flatter theſe boys of premature judg-"ments and no experience; and are wicked enough to ſpoil "the whole riſing generation, for the ſake of thoſe ſordid "views, which intereſt a part only of the preſent. You "know young NEOCLES, deſcended from THEMISTOCLES, "the moſt celebrated admiral in Greece. He entertained "us to-day with a ſpeech, compoſed of what—wilt thou

"believe me? of a wire-drawn ſimile. He played the "image before us in a thouſand ſhapes. To ſay nothing of "its being remote from the matter in hand, it was imagined "with no delicacy, and expreſſed with no ſpirit." I know him well, anſwered I, and could name many others, who reſemble him in this idle turn, and yet by no means equal him in the reſt of his character. The laſt time I accompanied you to the aſſembly, the Mitylenian decree came on, a determination of the laſt importance to the commonwealth and her allies. Do not you recollect, how the forward EPÆNETUS attempted to anſwer the wiſe and elaborate oration of DIODOTUS with equal petulance and ignorance; for he ſpoke neither ſenſibly nor grammatically. The ſame youth in PERICLES's time opened and revived a point of infinite perplexity and obſcurity, which could never be decided by our moſt intelligent legiſlators, relating to ſome privilege claimed mutually by the ſenate and the people; and the diſpute therefore for many years had been wiſely laid aſleep. His ſpeech was filled, not with precedents furniſhed him by the Theſmothetæ, but with perſonal reflections dictated by CLEON; for which the ſame CLEON publicly commended him in the moſt fulſome ſtrain of adulation, and compared him to the greateſt of the Athenian heroes. On that occaſion I was charmed with the behaviour of PERICLES, who, according to his cuſtom, reſuming all the arguments, that had been dropt in the debate, thought it right at the ſame time to expreſs his contempt for theſe levities, and with exquiſite art and decency began to the following effect: "That he could be as well pleaſed as any of the "citizens in Athens, that the young men ſhould be re"markable for the ſame ſpirit of liberty, which had diſtin"guiſhed their anceſtors; but ſhould be better pleaſed, if "they added to it the ſagacity and prudence, which ing[illegible]

" enable them to diſcern the nice and intricate nature of " queſtions of right between the ſenate and the people." PHILOSTRATUS, the nephew of the trierarch, your acquaintance, and DITHYRAMBUS, the ſon of the Areopagite, are in the ſame party with thoſe I have juſt mentioned to you, and both of them are late initiates. PHILOSTRATUS has parts and learning; but by taking a wrong turn in the management of popular buſineſs, as yet he has never made a conſiderable figure. He chuſes the warm and declamatory, not the cool and rational way of ſpeaking; and profeſſes to enter into no ſubject, as he expreſſes it, except when he is raiſed by it, or, as a plain man would ſay, in a downright paſſion. DITHYRAMBUS does not aim at the improvements of knowledge, and has received from nature a ſhattered underſtanding. In one reſpect he is more modeſt than PHILOSTRATUS, as he declares himſelf concerned for his violence of temper; and in another reſpect as unhappy, becauſe he never attempts to correct it. How loſt is the condition of that ſtate, which is governed by the frivolous or the vicious, the partial or the mad! " But, continued PHILEMON, can you wonder, that thoſe, who have not paſſed the exerciſes of their childhood with even tolerable induſtry or ſucceſs, ſhould, when they become a few years older, appear to no advantage in the public eye? Can you wonder, that they, who have not ſo much as received a ſuperficial tincture of the ſciences, but who have been educated either in an indolence which enervates their faculties, or an activity which debaſes them, ſhould turn out bad counſellors and bad men? It is not to be wondered at; it is the natural and the neceſſary conſequence of the vice or inattention, that has infected their minds early; and they have no one to upbraid for it, but themſelves and their inſtructors. [redacted], added he, the old laws, which enjoin an accurate

inſpection into the lives and qualifications of the orators, were maintained in their full force. We ſhould then be free from theſe gnats and waſps of the community, that exert their ſtings fretfully and wantonly, without contributing in any ſort to the general good." "After all, interpoſed I, the worſt of the matter is, that the evil ſo heavily complained of is not confined to the faction of CLEON and TOLMIDES; it extends even to our beſt citizens, when the power is veſted in their hands. For this cunning, which is generally practiſed by the oppoſers of the majority and its leaders, produces the craft of miniſterial influence and corruption." "And, ſaid an Athenian in the room with us, who till this moment had been ſilent, in ſuch caſes what is to be done? Virtue is an unequal combatant for vice. The arts of the one are ſlow and dilatory: thoſe of the other more ready and expeditious: the one are not accommodated to the generality of mankind; the other fall in with every complexion, and veiled in certain plauſible appearances will operate on the infirmities of the wiſeſt. If the men you have been blaming apply themſelves to the vanity or ambition of their neighbours, wiſdom will teach you, as it were in ſelf-defence, to lay hold of their other foibles, to feed their avarice, and gratify the imaginary wants of luxury." Farewel then, exclaimed I, to every generous and worthy principle! Farewel to every enlarged and uniform plan of policy! Indeed melancholy is the proſpect, when the ſtrength of miniſters conſiſts not in the ſuperiority of their own ſenſe, but the weakneſs of others; when the countenance of public virtue ſickens with the pale caſt of fraud and diſſimulation; when all the notions of integrity, ſo natural to the untainted hearts of youth, are induſtriouſly damped by theſe veterans in political iniquity, and cruſhed in the very ſhell. Such being the arts of government, and ſuch the dangers, to which it is expoſed, I aſk no other

favour of the gods, than that they would never place me on that pinnacle of greatneſs, from whence I may behold this ſcene of guilt and folly; much leſs where I may be inſtrumental in the encouragement of either."

C.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

00081727

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018